# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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7 December 1993

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## Central Eurasia

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## Officials Address NACC Meeting in Brussels

### Estonian Foreign Minister Speaks

*WS0612120093 Tallinn Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Release in English 3 Dec 93*

["Text" of speech by Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste at the North Atlantic Cooperation Council meeting in Brussels on 3 December; received via Internet on-line services]

[Text] Dear Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I will confine my remarks today to four points. First, our security problems and developments in our negotiations with the Russian Federation for troops withdrawal. Second, our views on NATO expansion and on NACC [North Atlantic Cooperation Council] cooperation. Third, Estonia's views on the United States' Travemunde initiative known as Partnership for Peace. Finally, a subject of considerable concern to us in Estonia, namely peacekeeping.

#### Estonian Security Concerns

I would like to begin with looking at our security in more general terms. Our security is part of European security and we all know that there are serious gaps and threats in it. The whole security system is still in development and we should work it out carefully. Coming closer to Estonia, but only in purely geographical terms, we all should carefully follow democratic transition in Russia. We have always welcomed this transition but the issues I am raising here should be regarded as concern for all of us. I am referring here to the principles of Russian defense policy presented in the form of their new military doctrine and also to the concept of the Near Abroad as well as protection of "compatriots abroad"—particularly in the context of peacekeeping.

Let me once again address the immediate reason for our concern, the presence of foreign troops in Estonia. We are looking for the progress in our negotiations after the Russian Federation's offer of a final pullout date of 31 August 1994. My government has welcomed Russia's initiative, and has stated that the date may be discussed further along with a detailed timetable. My government also reiterated that the withdrawal must be unconditional. We would also like to see the assault troops currently stationed in Tallinn, leave considerably sooner. However, the Russian Federation has failed to produce a time-table of withdrawal.

On humanitarian ground, the Estonian government has walked an extra mile down the road for the improvement of our bilateral relations with Russia and has approved last week a residence permit applications procedure for retired Soviet military officers, left behind in Estonia by the Russian Federation—people to whom Russia, despite of its moral and legal obligations, has provided no decent opportunity to return home.

#### NATO Enlargement

In regard to the expansion of NATO, Estonia welcomes the dialogue that has begun on NATO enlargement as the first step toward enhancing the security of post-Cold War Europe. We consider the expansion of Western security arrangements to the East as a logical progress toward European integration at all levels. We also consider the option of NATO membership to be a natural part of that integration. NATO enlargement, however, must be a strengthening process, and cannot lead to a dilution of the organization's might. A widened but weakened security net cannot bear the weight of its responsibilities, and in that form would be of no use to anyone. Estonia believes, however, that a gradual enlargement, based on the willingness and ability of each state to meet NATO's demands, will insure the continuation of a strong NATO. In the end, an enlarged but strong NATO is in everyone's interest, and will certainly bolster Baltic security.

#### NACC Cooperation

I would add one more note on the expansion of NATO, and that concerns the future role of NACC. Whatever form the future NATO assumes, we must remember that agreements between NATO and potential member states are essentially bilateral in nature. As a multilateral body, however, NACC serves as a necessary forum for the exchange of views leading to possible solutions to the problems that we encounter and for practical multilateral cooperation in the field of defence among partners. Estonia believes that NACC, as an essential and complementary body to NATO itself, must continue, and even expand its activities and effectiveness. Another step in this way is the Work Plan for 1994 that we adopt today. I would like to note this as a sign of our mutual will to cooperative preparedness to challenge our mutual problems.

#### Partnership for Peace

My third point concerns Partnership for Peace, put forth by the United States at the NATO defense ministers' meeting in Travemunde. We welcome this concept as a means to the kind of step-by-step enlargement we envision. I would make two comments as to how we interpret the word "partnership" in the context of NATO.

Firstly, partnership is a two-way street, involving give as well as take. As a potential partner, we are willing and able to provide the kinds of commitments that NATO, as an organization, is looking for. For instance, we have shown our dedication to democratic rule by conducting free and fair elections at the national and local levels. We have instituted a variety of mechanisms to guarantee the security and the rights of all people living in Estonia. We have imposed strict civilian control over our military and have consciously adopted NATO standards in our military materiel. These actions demonstrate our commitment to meeting NATO's stringent requirements for possible membership.

Secondly, we interpret partnership in the strict lexical sense of the word, that is to say, as a cooperative arrangement among colleagues. We have already cooperated in helping bring about the collapse of communism, but we can do more. Our active participation in constructing a new European security system can but enhance collective confidence on the continent.

**Peacekeeping**

In more practical terms, Estonia can offer cooperation in peacekeeping operations. Alongside with our Latvian and Lithuanian neighbours, we are currently in the process of establishing a Baltic battalion with an eye toward joint planning and training with, and eventual participation in peacekeeping actions. This reference to a Baltic peacekeeping battalion brings me to another, more general point I have actually made already three days ago in Rome.

The World and European community have been facing a necessity to develop conflict prevention and conflict resolution capabilities. Estonia firmly believes that we cannot deviate from the universally recognized and accepted principles of peacekeeping. Such principles, as transparency, impartiality, international mandate, multinational character, undertaken on a case-by-case basis, have recently been questioned. Coming to the NACC we should fully use the possibilities of the NACC Ad Hoc Group on Peacekeeping Cooperation which has done significant work in laying down conceptual bases and general principles of peacekeeping and working out practical measures for cooperation. Only these principles should guide preparation and conduct of all and any peacekeeping operations.

Estonia fully subscribes to the words uttered by Secretary General Manfred Woerner yesterday, that Eastern Europe needs more stability and this could be provided only by us. By all of us.

Thank you.

## Georgia's Chikvaidze Delivers Report

*LD0412224893 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] A meeting of the North Atlantic Council was held on 3 December at the NATO Headquarters in Brussels. The meeting, attended by Aleksandr Chikvaidze, Georgia's minister of foreign affairs, discussed the deepening and widening of cooperation between the North Atlantic alliance member countries.

Aleksandr Chikvaidze delivered a report at the meeting. He described the current situation in Georgia and called attention of the NATO member countries' foreign ministers to possible ways of further cooperation. Mr. Chikvaidze pointed out that the council had large untapped resources for maintaining peace in areas of interethnic conflict. He went on to say that the North Atlantic Council must render effective assistance, both in military and economic terms, to countries that used to be under totalitarian regimes.

The minister also addressed the problem of the defense of the new independent states and the formation of their armed forces, which is beyond doubt vitally important to them. Mr. Chikvaidze stressed the need to bring criminals and their hirelings to account, which was met with general understanding and support both at the CSCE [where Chikvaidze also gave a speech on 30 November] and the North Atlantic Council.

At the end of his report, Georgia's minister of foreign affairs addressed the issue of the council's working plan and expressed the wish that NATO establish information centers in new independent states and send military experts to them.

In the course of the council's work, Mr. Chikvaidze met NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, as well as the foreign ministers of Italy, Canada, Holland, Belgium, and the Baltic countries.

## Armenia's Papazyan Interviewed

*BR0612152093 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 4-5 Dec 93 p 6*

[Interview with Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan by Michel Rosten in Brussels; date not given: "Baku Has Taken Tougher Stance—Armenian Foreign Minister Deplores Change"; first paragraph is LA LIBRE BELGIQUE introduction]

[Text] During his first visit to Brussels for a meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC], Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan answered questions put to him by LA LIBRE BELGIQUE.

[Rosten] Azerbaijan's position on Nagorno-Karabakh fluctuates considerably. This week in Rome it again adopted a tougher stance. How do you explain this changeability, which even includes President Aliyev?

[Papazyan] Aliyev's position was more moderate before he became president. Since then, in fact, we have noted his tougher stance. So far the main framework in which the Karabakh question was examined was in the Minsk group (this gathers nine countries under the aegis of the CSCE, namely Belarus, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, the United States, Sweden, and Turkey, ed.). The group has set a timetable which will allow negotiations to be opened. Armenia and Karabakh have accepted the timetable, which demonstrates their desire to reach a political solution. Azerbaijan has refused it, which tends to prove that Baku is preparing an escalation in the conflict. If we ask ourselves why Aliyev has taken a tougher stance, then several explanations could be put forward: the influence of his entourage, domestic political pressures, the commitments of third countries, the presence of 2,000 mojahedin fighting alongside his troops.

[Rosten] You talk of Baku preparing an escalation in the conflict. But on the battlefield the Azerbaijanis have suffered defeat after defeat.

[Papazyan] In fact they perhaps have been given the assurance of military aid and continue to hope that the blockade of Armenia will bear fruit and prevent it from supporting Karabakh.

[Rosten] Where could the military aid that you are talking about come from?

[Papazyan] I am thinking primarily of Turkey.

[Rosten] Do you think that mediation by Iran remains possible after the recent visit to Baku by Rafsanjani?

[Papazyan] It is difficult to have a precise view of the subject. In principle Armenia supports any initiative which would reestablish peace. In the past we accepted Tehran's mediation. Today it is difficult to say whether we would accept it or not. But it seems preferable to me for an international organization to manage the problem, rather than one state.

[Rosten] Has the entry of Azerbaijan in the CIS complicated your position?

[Papazyan] One cannot say that this development is creating difficulties. Certainly, Russia is working for a solution; but the crisis cannot be resolved by negotiations between Azerbaijan and Armenia: It will only be resolved by dialogue between Karabakh and Azerbaijan. It is the forces of Karabakh which are fighting on the ground. Baku has still not understood this very simple truth. And since it has not yet been possible to establish a cease-fire, how can we envisage negotiations on the fundamental questions?

[Rosten] The fact that Azerbaijan has joined the CIS nevertheless forces Moscow to seek a balance between Baku and Yerevan.

[Papazyan] Indeed. But it should be remembered that by becoming a member of this organization, Azerbaijan should respect its rules. These rules prohibit the blockade of one member country by another. Aliyev has refused to sign this provision.

## Heads of State Summit Postponed Until 23-24 Dec

*LD0712065993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0652 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat December 7 TASS—A regular summit meeting of CIS heads of state scheduled in Ashgabat on December 16-17 will be held on December 23-24. The Russian president's visit to Turkmenistan has been timed to coincide with the summit, ITAR-TASS learned from the president's press service.

The summit has been postponed at the request of Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev in connection with the celebration of the anniversary of Kazakh independence, the same source said.

## Baltic Foreign Ministers Reject Russian Concept for States

*LD0612194393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1803 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveriyan]

[Text] Tallinn December 6 TASS—The Russian concept of former Soviet republics is absolutely unacceptable for Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, according to a declaration which was signed at a meeting of foreign ministers of these three countries in Tallinn today.

Any peacemaking activities, the declaration stresses, must be coordinated with the mechanisms and principles approved by the United Nations and the conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Foreign ministers also assured that their governments come out in favor of the establishment of goodneighborly relations with Russia if it withdraws its troops from the territory of the Baltic States without any preliminary conditions.

Speaking before journalists, Estonian foreign Minister, Trivimi Velliste, said his country would approve Russia's proposal to accomplish the troops withdrawal from the Estonian territory by August 31, 1994 if the major part of foreign troops left the territory of the republic in early summer of 1994.

Participants in the meeting also considered a number of issues concerning tripartite cooperation in the political and economic fields, as well as the integration of the Baltic countries into the European Union and other international organizations.

## ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 7 Dec

*LD0712071993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0615 GMT 7 Dec 93*

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—Today's newspapers highlight Russian President Boris Yeltsin's tour of the North Caucasus. The tour began with a trip to the state-of-emergency zone on the territories of North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER) quotes the president as saying that "the pause in the process of settling the Ossetian- Ingush conflict has been unpardonably drawn out." He said the main thing is to help the leaders of the two republics to make a step towards each other. "For this to happen, it would be useful for the one of them to remove from the agenda the thesis that it is impossible for Ossets and Ingushes to live side by side while the other should renounce territorial claims," the newspaper quotes Yeltsin as saying.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, commenting on Yeltsin's trip to the state- of-emergency zone, believes that it is "very difficult" to rectify the situation there.

"The work aimed at bringing Ingush refugees back home has bogged down in numerous negotiations. Tens of thousands of homeless people this winter have to dwell in tents and trailers. A solution to this problem is not expected in the near future. Therefore, whatever Yeltsin tells people in Prigorodny district, whatever he promises the refugees, his words are taken without much enthusiasm. Moreover, Boris Nikolayevich runs the risk of making new opponents on the one and the other side of the conflict". The newspaper observes.

"President Boris Yeltsin, according to his own words, has not brought readymade recipes for the reconciliation of the sides but hopes, together with the leaders of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, to find an acceptable solution.

"On Tuesday the president is to have a scheduled meeting with the leaders of republics, territories and regions of the North Caucasus, at which, judging by everything, those attending it will also determine long-term geopolitical priorities in the region".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on December 12 elections and a forecast for the destiny of a future Federal Assembly. [sentence as received]

"Several months after the new parliament begins work, there will be, most likely, polarisation of its members on a political basis. Virtually this process is already under way: Almost all electoral blocs, including liberal ones, come out against the programme of the Russia's Choice Bloc (RCB) and against the contents and procedure for the adoption of the new constitution.

"The RCB, which has put off the formation of serious coalitions until a later date, runs the risk of finding itself in isolation. The unjustified extremism of some of its leaders and authoritarianism, which is being professed by the RCB as the main political doctrine, will discourage almost all parties of liberal orientation from cooperating with the RCB. That could really lead to the collapse of liberalism in Russia".

TRUD on Russia's new constitution.

"After the tragic events in October this year, it is difficult, it seems, to find a sober-minded person who would not be aware that the current constitution of Russia does not safeguard society from trouble but conduces to most acute political crises and does not contain reliable means to overcome them.

"Long before the October events, something else became clear, namely, that the chosen road to democratisation, to a radical change of the social system is in need of a strong state power and an appropriate legal basis. This is why it is vitally essential to adopt the new constitution".

The newspaper recalls that "the constitution will be adopted if more than 50 percent of the electorate go to the polls and most of them cast an aye".

In this connection TRUD points out that "apparently, the Federal Assembly will have to return to the text, seeking improvements in some provisions. But if it so happens that the constitution will not be adopted during the forthcoming referendum, the country may be in for a new period of still greater instability and paralysis of power".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs the International Reform Foundation's statement on the draft constitution. The statement points out in particular that a new constitution should be different from the suggested one and that it should not be adopted in haste."

## Yeltsin's Belgian Visit Linked With EC Accord

*LD0312175993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1713 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Negotiations to be held by President Boris Yeltsin during his upcoming Belgian visit and meetings with EC leaders on December 8-10 will aim to make Russian-European relations equal and mutually beneficial.

A single text of the Russian-EC agreement on partnership and cooperation has been prepared, reliable sources at the Russian Foreign Ministry told ITAR-TASS. Many sections of the 100-page document have been coordinated, some still require improvement.

In the opinion of a high-ranking Russian diplomat who helped to elaborate the document, "there is a possibility of full text coordination before the visit". Still, even if this is done, the sides will need time for technical preparations of the document.

A high-ranking diplomat from the Russian delegation said the sides are likely to sign a joint political declaration to dwell "on major political and economic parameters of Russian-EC cooperation". The document to include five or six pages will voice the "support to Russian reforms and recognition of the fact Russia is no longer a communist state, it will enjoy the most favoured nation status and the right to export goods to European markets on easy terms".

In his opinion, these trade rules will bring Russia millions of dollars.

The Brussels stay of Boris Yeltsin is expected to include meetings with French, German, British and Spanish leaders, as well as NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner.

The Foreign Ministry source does not exclude the meetings will "focus on Russian cooperation with NATO on new conditions, admission of some East European states to NATO and plans for its organization. They will also dwell on nuclear arms Ukraine is wishing to preserve despite its claims on the striving to obtain a non-nuclear status".

As for the official visit, it will include a meeting with King Albert II and negotiations with Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene. The negotiations are expected to result in signing of a treaty on accord and cooperation to signify the transition of the Russian-Belgian relations to partnership.

Two agreements on cooperation in the archive sphere and an agreement on air communications will be signed as well.

## Schedule Provided

*LD0712102293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0910 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Brussels December 7—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's press service released on Monday the schedule for his Brussels trip. The schedule follows:

December 8
11:00 Arrival in Brussels.
12:00 Meeting with King of the Belgians, Albert I.
13:00 Lunch hosted by the king and queen in honor of the Russian Federation president and his wife.
15:20 Laying of wreath at the monument to the unknown soldier.
15:30 Talks with the Belgian prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.
16:30 The signing of the treaty on harmony and cooperation between Russia and Belgium. Meeting with the press.
19:30 Dinner hosted by the Belgian prime minister and his wife in honor of the Russian president and his wife.
December 9
08:45 Working breakfast with the secretary-general of NATO.
10:00 Visit to the town hall.
11:20 Meeting with the leadership of the Commission of European

Communities.
12:45 The signing of a joint declaration. Announcements for the

press.
15:40 Visit to the European Parliament.
16:30 Bilateral meetings with several leaders of European Union

countries.
20:00 Official dinner hosted by the chairman of the EU Council

in honor of the Russian president with the state and

government heads of the European Union countries.
December 10
9:00Departure for Moscow.

## CSCE Foreign Ministers' Summit Viewed

*PM0612172793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Dec 93 p 2*

[Aleksandr Golts article under the "Topic of the Week" rubric: "Russia Or Nobody"]

[Text] It is said that time is an honest man. Let me add that it is ruthlessly honest when it comes to politics. It is time that tests the viability of different foreign policy approaches. It is time that ruthlessly rejects concepts that

only recently seemed obvious and appealing. It is time that accepts today what on yesterday seemed shocking and impossible.

A year ago at a meeting of the CSCE foreign ministers Andrey Kozyrev, head of the Russian diplomatic department, succeeded in reducing his colleagues to a state of shock. This happened when he read out a compilation of the foreign policy views espoused by the then opposition. Leaving aside the clearly rude imperial tone and the equally ostentatious disregard for human rights, the crux of his statement boiled down to the idea that Russia was stating its right to exercise control in the post-Soviet space. Andrey Kozyrev later said that he resorted to this polemical approach in order to demonstrate how strongly this policy would be rejected by the world community. As an eyewitness I can say that the experiment was a success in that respect.

But this week in Rome there was a similar session. There the Russian minister continued consistently to oppose aggressive nationalism and spoke of the need to create a real barrier to regional conflicts. And as one means of doing so he asked the CSCE to directly support Russia's peacemaking operations in the post-Soviet space. And, moreover, not only to give these operations a "CSCE cover," but also to offer financial support. Say what you will, this represents a bid for a special role for Russia, a bid for its special interests.

As might have been expected, this appeal met with a mixed reaction. The Baltic states, Turkey, and Ukraine (it is easy to see that each of these countries was guided by its own interests far removed from fear in the face of the "Russian threat") saw the danger of a "revival of Soviet imperialism" here. Admittedly, their stance affected the final resolution. Like other CSCE documents, it is adopted on the basis of consensus. The section devoted to peacemaking operations makes no direct reference to Russia. What is more, it introduces a number of restrictions on participation in such operations which may also affect our country's policy.

However, in my view, the reaction to Russia's proposals from the continent's leading states was far more revealing. "The ideas voiced by the head of the foreign policy department were far more favorably received by Britain, France, and Germany, where people grudgingly acknowledge that Russia has legitimate interests in the security sphere," the FINANCIAL TIMES stated. "And, since the United Nations is unable to allocate peacekeeping forces, better peace attained by Russian efforts than war."

As we can see, there are fundamental changes of approach both in Moscow and among its partners. But they have by no means been brought about by a sudden emergence of Russian imperial ambitions. Much less by a readiness on the part of Paris or London to give way to these ambitions. The reality is that the post-Soviet space accounts for virtually all the conflicts on CSCE territory, aside from the Yugoslav conflict. Are these conflicts dangerous to Russia? This hardly needs to be proved again. Do these conflicts threaten the continent's security? Obviously they do. At the same time most members of the CSCE are not directly involved in them. And these countries have no desire to be involved even as peacekeepers. In short, the imperative—either Russia or nobody—is becoming supremely topical as far as the prospect of reaching a settlement in these regions is concerned.

It is also reaffirmed in a situation where one of the CSCE states is in most flagrant breach of the requirement for nuclear nonproliferation on the continent. I am referring to Kiev's dangerous games with the nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory.

A truly dramatic situation developed in Rome as a result of these actions. The ratification of the final documents was delayed by several hours. Ukraine not only declared itself a state that possesses nuclear weapons. During the session of the CSCE Foreign Ministers Council the Ukrainian delegation tried to submit amendments watering down the draft decision on the need to reinforce the nuclear nonproliferation regime on the European continent.

And, whereas many countries adopted a stance of passive disapproval of Kiev's actions, Russia resolutely opposed it. It did so in the interests not only of its own but of universal security. It was Russia that deemed it impossible to agree to the adoption of this version of the document and pinned full responsibility for this on Kiev. The result was that the document was not adopted but was handed over to experts for further work. Our delegation meanwhile took steps to ensure that its partners understood its concern. It linked its proposals with the examination of the whole package of "military components" in Vienna.

Lastly, the Russian factor was undoubtedly one of the crucial factors at yesterday's session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, comprising the NATO states and the countries of East Europe and the former USSR. This discussed the "Partnership for Peace" concept recently put forward by Washington. Let me remind you that it emerged as an answer to the extremely contradictory situation in Europe.

On the one hand, a number of East European states are not abandoning their efforts to join NATO. On the other, Moscow is unequivocally voicing fears that this broadening of the alliance's borders would threaten to divide Europe again and put our country in a position of dangerous isolation. As a result the United States seems to be proposing to develop military cooperation with each of the council's member countries on an individual basis, envisaging admission to NATO on in the long term. It is hard now to draw any definite conclusions regarding the debate in Brussels. But it is obvious that the states of both West and East Europe and the United States itself cannot ignore Russia's position.

All these complex events of the last week that cannot be interpreted in a straightforward manner indicate the place which our country occupies in European and world politics. And it occupies this place not by or contrary to anyone's will. It occupies it by virtue of objective factors—its geopolitical position, potential, and level of communications with neighboring states. These conditions determine its vital interests. And Moscow itself and its partners in turn seem increasingly aware of these interests.

## Churkin Refutes Statements by Ukraine Envoys on CSCE

*LD0612182493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1612 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: by correspondents Dmitriy Vosboinikov, Igor Porhsnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] The statement by Ukrainian diplomats who claim that the Brussels meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council did not mention Ukraine's nuclear status, is not true to fact, the deputy Russian Foreign Minister Vitaly Churkin has told Interfax Monday. Together with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev he took part in the session.

Churkin said that many delegates to the session, for example, the U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, delegates of Britain, France and other states raised the question about Ukraine's nuclear status. Those were discussions, not speeches, said Churkin.

He said their result was the appeal to Ukraine to ratify the START I treaty and implement it. In other words, delegates to the Brussels session do not recognize the fact of the treaty's ratification by the Ukrainian parliament, nor the Lisbon Protocol to it with their numerous reservations, making vapid the essence of the documents.

## Shokhin Reviews '93 Foreign Economic Relations

*LD0712023193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2330 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] The year 1993 is coming to an end. What can one say about it with regard to Russian foreign economic relations? This is what Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin has to say about them.

[Begin Shokhin recording] This year, 1993, was the first year when a positive balance has taken shape in the foreign trade balance. We have simply started to import markedly less, whereas the volumes of Russian exports have remained approximately the same. We have started to return to our traditional markets, both in Eastern and Central Europe and in the CIS countries. In many types of machines and equipment, they are still not expecting us on Western science-intensive markets or on Eastern markets either. Therefore, we have to revive our presence in the former Soviet republics and in the former socialist countries.

New elements are also emerging. A decline in production and a drastic cut in state military orders have freed a huge amount of aluminum, titanium, and other types of strategic metals. This allowed us to increase the export of these goods fairly substantially. On the other hand, this year we came up against problems that are new for us, specifically anti-dumping investigations. It is primarily the European Community that is involved in that, and we understand the attempt to protect producers. At the same time, we are opposed to discriminatory methods of introducing these limitations. In a number of cases we are prepared, together with the European Community and other states, to look for possibilities for regulating our exports, but within reasonable limits so that our exports do not suffer. [end recording]

## Moscow Mayor's 'Special Order' Prompts CIS Countermeasures

*MK0412114093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 Dec 93 p 3*

[Dmitriy Kamyshev report: "Protest by CIS Ambassadors. CIS Countries Express Dissatisfaction With Moscow Mayor's Decision"]

[Text] To all appearances, the silence kept by the Russian authorities with regard to the introduction of "a special order of staying" in Moscow will soon be broken. A collective note sent by nine embassies and missions of CIS countries to the Russian Foreign Ministry is too serious a document to be ignored. Meanwhile, the Moscow mayor's decision has lead to countermeasures: the Lviv city council began levying a special tax on Russian citizens starting yesterday.

The note, signed by ambassadors and representatives to Russia of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine, draws attention to the fact that the Moscow mayor's directive has put all citizens of the CIS countries "in a humiliating position," because under Russian laws only those who have served sentences for crimes they committed are subject to registration. Not only has the mayor's directive violated a whole number of international human rights agreements, but it runs counter to provisions of the treaty on setting up the CIS guaranteeing all Commonwealth citizens the freedom of travel and staying in any part of the CIS.

Spokesmen for the Russian Foreign Ministry, who have repeatedly said that the ministry has nothing to do with the Moscow authorities' decision, do not intend to take any independent steps in response to the CIS countries' diplomatic demarche. The Foreign Ministry is, however, drawing up proposals for settling the conflict together with the Internal Affairs Ministry, the Justice Ministry, and other interested agencies.

As for the possible chain reaction involving the introduction of similar measures in other regions, which was mentioned in the note, the recent decision by the Lviv city council has confirmed that this is a realistic prospect. Characteristically, the tax imposed by the Lviv deputies is clearly anti-Russian in nature: the charge, in an amount of the minimum monthly wage (60,000 karbovanets), is payable by citizens of Russia, not the entire CIS; this rule, however, does not apply to Russian citizens of Ukrainian origin.

### Shumeyko on Inefficiency of Lithuanian Border Officials

*LD0612202293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko arrived in the Kaliningrad region late last night by an ordinary passenger train. The aim of his visit was to assess the work of the Russian and Lithuanian border customs services.

In an interview with the independent Kaliningrad radio and television company [name indistinct], Vladimir Shumeyko assessed with great criticism the work of the Lithuanian border officials. According to him, on the Lithuanian-Belarusian border, a man in civilian clothes entered the carriage and demanded that the passengers show their documents. But when he was asked to produce his own documents, he left the train. An armed and uniformed man replaced him later. He, too, could not produce his documents, but persisted in checking the passengers.

The Russian deputy prime minister stressed that a uniform and a weapon do not prove that a person is an official of a corresponding service. When Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko identified himself and explained to the border official the articles of the Russian-Lithuanian agreement on transit to the Kaliningrad region, the official left the train.

In the opinion of Vladimir Shumeyko, after this incident, the customs officials were warned, because when the train was crossing the Lithuanian-Kaliningrad border, passengers were checked by uniformed Lithuanian border officials in possession of the necessary identification documents. "Although I do not have a stamp on entering Lithuania, my passport was stamped on departure," said the Russian deputy prime minister.

This was a Baltic News Service report.

### Delegation Disappointed in Estonian Talks

*LD0612155693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Vasiliy Svirin, roving ambassador and head of the Russian delegation at the talks with Estonia, has returned from Tallinn where a meeting of the heads of delegations was held. The Russian diplomat was not satisfied by the outcome of the dialogue. You will learn why from an interview taken over the phone.

[Begin Svirin recording] We prepared for this meeting in the belief that, thanks to constructive steps by both sides, we could complete work on key drafts documents with the range of military problems. As a constructive step from our side, we set out the main parameters of a troop withdrawal schedule, including figures on the number of units and subunits to be withdrawn each month between January and August 1994. Unfortunately, the leadership of the Estonian delegation continued as before to adhere to its very unrealistic stance, insisting that troops be withdrawn by 1 January 1994. Thus, right from the outset of the talks, the Estonian delegation had already predetermined that they would be unproductive.

The discussion also failed to bring the sides' positions on the other main aspects of the treaty on our troops' withdrawal significantly closer. One of the main issues of this meeting was discussion of a draft agreement on social protection of military pensioners and members of their families. The Estonian delegation had earlier given us to understand on several occasions that Russian concerns over the position of military pensioners would be taken into account during government preparations of a decision specifying provisions of the law on foreigners. However, the Estonian government decision of 23 November 1993 on procedures for issuing residence permits to retired servicemen in foreign armed forces worsened even further their already difficult position.

According to the new procedure, military pensioners who joined the reserve or retired after 20 August 1991 are deprived of the right to obtain a residence permit and are liable for deportation from Estonia. The rights to residence of other categories of military pensioners and their family members are also sharply restricted. Not surprisingly, this decision has aroused fierce protests from our fellow-countrymen living in Estonia. Someone is trying to convince us that military pensioners present a threat to the security of Estonia. What possible threat can there be to security from people who are mostly over 60 or 70?

The Russian delegation said it will continue its persistent efforts to settle the fate of military pensioners and their family members in a civilized manner in the spirit of CSCE norms and traditions, and with respect for human rights and freedoms. [end recording]

### Churkin on Estonian Territorial Claims, Bosnia

*LD0612190093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1612 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: reports by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Vosboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] Vitaly Churkin, the Russian Foreign Ministry official in charge of Russia's relations with the Baltic

countries, urged the parties concerned not to overdramatize Estonia's territorial claims. "This problem must be treated tranquilly. Why should we worry? The border is controlled and we know where it runs. We also know that these territories belong to Russia and that nothing threatens them," he said.

He admitted, however, that excessive attention paid by Estonia to this question "sometimes complicates the solution of other problems, including cooperation between the border regions." "This is very distressing," sad Churkin.

He also said that Russia attached cardinal importance to "humanitarian questions connected with the rights of ethnic Russians." "The situation deteriorated after the Estonian government took the decision on retired Russian servicemen. Despite Estonia's promises and hints at a satisfactory solution of this problem, the Estonian government has taken a different decision," said Churkin. "As a result, many of the retired Russian servicemen and members of their families will have to leave Estonia shortly. [no closing quotation marks as received]

In Churkin's estimate "out of the slightly over 11,000 retired Russian servicemen and members of their families, about 8,000 will have to leave Estonia." "We are deeply concerned about this situation," he said. He also added that this question was honestly discussed by the Russian and Estonian foreign ministers in Brussels during the session of the North Atlantic Council.

Asked when the Russian troops will complete their withdrawal from Estonia, Churkin said that "certain problems have not be solved yet." "But, if there are no additional problems, similar to the territorial one, created, this question might be resolved smoothly and painlessly," he said. He noted that not long ago Russia proposed a new deadline for the withdrawal of its troops from Estonia - August 31, 1994."

Speaking about the prospects of settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Churkin, a special envoy of the Russian President, has said that the talks seem to proceed smoothly. It is a positive sign that the conflicting sides began to meet again. However, there are no grounds for excessive optimism because difficult decisions still lie ahead, he said.

He said that in certain cases the parties concerned demonstrate the desire to make progress at the negotiations. All sides, however, including the Moslems, show lack of consistency. Sometimes statements alone are made, but the positions change and this does not help to achieve progress in the negotiations, said Churkin.

He voiced satisfaction that more and more countries agree with the stand taken by Russia which believes that the implementation of peace agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina should go alongside with the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia. "I believe that it (the lifting of sanctions—Interfax) will take place if the peace agreement is signed, said Churkin.

He said that Russia will continue regular gas supplies to Sarajevo. There are grounds to believe that the Sanctions Committee will soon solve positively Russia's question of relief gas supplies also to Yugoslavia, said the diplomat.

## Moscow: No Belief of Kazakhstan Nuclear Ambitions

*LD0612182293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1612 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: reports by Dmitriy Vosboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] Russia has no grounds to believe that Kazakhstan is nurturing nuclear ambitions like those of Ukraine, a senior foreign ministry official responsible for relations with Kazakhstan told Interfax.

In his view, the difference was that as long ago as July 1992 Kazakhstan ratified START-1 and the Lisbon Protocol. It also signed, on July 6, 1993, a treaty whereby Russia is recognized as the sole nuclear state within the former USSR.

The official also recalled that Kazakhstan had undertaken last year to join the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear state. "True, it has not done so thus far and other commitments have not been fully honored because ratification papers on START-1 and the Non-proliferation Treaty have not been presented," he said.

Still, the official continued, Russia did not have to worry for the delays seem to be caused by thorough study of the Russian and Kazakh mutual interests as far as export of nuclear weapons is concerned rather than by nuclear ambitions.

The diplomat did not rule out the possibility that the issue of compensation for nuclear weapons would emerge in the Russo-Kazakh relations, as was the case with Ukraine. "One can be almost sure that this issue will be resolved in the spirit of goodwill rather than through categorical demands," he said.

He emphasized that, unlike Ukraine, Kazakhstan "did not have the technical potential to control nuclear weapons and maintain them safely... This fact restrains those in Kazakhstan who would change the republic's nuclear status. True, even Ukraine, where quite a few nuclear experts can be found, cannot fully provide safe maintenance of nuclear weapons," the official said.

He noted that "all experience is welcome... Almaty cannot ignore the response of the world community to Kiev's nuclear ambitions."

### Science, Culture Accords Signed With Cuba

*LD0312193293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] On Friday Russia and Cuba signed an agreement on reciprocal visa-free travel, an agreement on scientific and cultural cooperation, and a program for scientific and cultural cooperation in 1993-1995. The documents were signed by Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Mamedov and by his Cuban counterpart, Isabel Allende.

As Mamedov said, "the agreements became a logical link in the onward development of relations between Russia and Cuba." "The documents are in keeping with the trend toward greater openness and democracy both Russia and Cuba are moving to," he noted.

In answer to a question from Interfax Mamedov said: "even though relations between Russia and Cuba are now built on a qualitatively new basis, the mentality of both nations changes slowly, which creates certain problems."

"In Russia some people criticize the government for refusing to cooperate with Cuba, while others criticize it for continuing to cooperate with Cuba," he explained.

Some circles in Western countries criticize Russia for cooperating with Cuba, the diplomat said. "We have to do a lot of explanatory work in this connection," he noted.

### French Military Delegation Visits 1-4 Dec

*PM0612163593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Dec 93 p 1*

[Russian Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate report: "Delegation from France"]

[Text] A French military delegation led by Captain First Rank Olivier D'Otyuil [surname as transliterated], head of the French Armed Forces Army Information and Public Relations Service, was in Moscow 1 through 4 December. The delegation comprised Colonel Bruno de Blinyer [surname as transliterated], head of the Army Information and Public Relations Service Foreign Relations Directorate, and Colonel Dominique de Kort [surname as transliterated], head of the Army Information and Public Relations Service Cinematographic and Photographic Directorate.

The French visitors exchanged work experience with their Russian colleagues at the Russian Defense Minstry's Information and Press Directorate, met with Yelena Agapova, the Russian defense minister's aide for public and press relations, visited the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office, met with officers and enlisted men from a Moscow Military District units, and were acquainted with the sights of the Russian capital.

### Joint Kuwaiti Persian Gulf Naval Maneuvers 25 Dec

*LD0612155093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] As INTERFAX has learned from Russia's Defense Ministry, a Russo-Kuwaiti naval exercise is planned in the Persian Gulf on December 25-29. Three Russian naval vessels - the anti-submarine ship "Admiral Vinogradov", the landing craft "Nikolay Vilkov" and an escort tanker—have sailed from Vladivostok for Kuwait.

"The ships are in the Indian Ocean. They are due to arrive in Kuwait on December 24," a naval officer has reported.

He noted that joint naval maneuvers would be the early fruit of the understandings reached during the Kuwaiti Defense Minister Sheikh 'Ali Al-Sabah's visit to Moscow. "The exercise is called upon to demonstrate Russia's solidarity with the other UN Security Council members, participants in the anti-Iraqi coalition," a senior Russian military official declared.

### Moscow Expresses 'Anxiety' Over Algerian Violence

*LD0612191693 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1600 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Regarding the escalation of violence against foreigners, including Russians, in Algeria, we telephoned the department of Middle Eastern affairs at the Russian Foreign Ministry and asked for comment [word indistinct]. Leonid Rugov, an employee at the department said that the Russian Foreign Ministry expressed its anxiety about the news on the carrying out of other [as heard] terrorist acts against Russian citizens living in Algeria. He said: We are expecting very soon detailed news from our embassy in Algiers on the incidents that took place there. In fact, the matter is about terrorism and the blatant piracy under the cover of political slogans, and citizens of foreign countries, in addition to Russian citizens, are falling victim to these terrorist actions.

The Russian side is adopting with the Algerian authorities all the possible measures for ensuring the security of Russian citizens in Algeria. Among these measures are the transfer of groups of experts from remote areas to safe places and tightening the surveillance of our installations there. The Russian Foreign Ministry recommended to all the institutions concerned in Russia to take measures to reduce the number of their staff working in Algeria if necessary.

## Brazilian Minister Sees Wide Cooperation Prospects

*LD0312170393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1556 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Galkin and Vladimir Golenkov]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—"My visit to Russia pursued the aim of opening the door more widely open for bilateral exchanges of goods between our two countries," Jose Eduardo de Andrado Vieira, Brazilian minister of industry, trade and tourism, told a press conference here on Friday.

"I think that we have made an important step in that direction by signing, together with Oleg Davydov, Russian minister for foreign economic relations, a protocol of intent on trade-and-economic cooperation between Russia and Brazil," said the Brazilian minister, who ended his three-day visit to Russia on Friday.

The minister emphasised that there are ample opportunities for the economies of the two countries to supplement each other. In particular, Brazil offers to supply Russia with foodstuffs, footwear, household electrical appliances, and some heavy-industry products in exchange for Russian hi-tech and research products.

The protocol signed envisages that reciprocal trade turnover is to be brought up to 2,000 million U.S. dollars a year within five years. This is quite a lot, considering that some two years ago the economies of the one and the other country were a rather closed nature for each other. Turnover in trade between them runs at 200-300 million U.S. dollars a year, an amount which is not large for them.

Problems that should be resolved in order to implement the protocol signed, as well as the question of Brazil's participation in an international iridium space communications project which envisages the use of Russian Proton booster rockets, were discussed earlier on Friday during a meeting with Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, the Brazilian minister said.

Shokhin and the Brazilian minister also exchanged views on the state of affairs in the two countries, with the two sides noting the similarity of political and economic problems facing them. In this connection the minister said political instability problems and economic difficulties connected with them are familiar to Brazil. Therefore Brazilian businessmen are not afraid of the familiar situation in Russia, the minister added.

Treaties and protocols on cooperation between Russian and Brazilian firms were signed within the framework of the visit. In particular, the Brazilian firm its and the Russian Aviaprom joint-stock company signed a protocol of intent to study the question of a licenced manufacture of MiG-29 military aircraft in Brazil. An intergovernmental agreement will be needed for the implementation of such a project, an Aviaprom spokesman told ITAR-TASS.

## Political Issues

### Soskovets To Replace Chernomyrdin During Illness

*LD0612205793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1830 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Owing to illness, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin who is in the Central Clinical Hospital for treatment, is being replaced in the head of government's post by Oleg Soskovets, the first deputy prime minister. Together, with a group of industry ministers who have decided not to participate in the election campaign, he is supervising the operational management of the economy.

### Moscow Says Miners' Strike Illegal; Some Demands Met

*LD0612165693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Dec—Russian Deputy Labor Minister Yuriy Shatyrenko said the government working group and representatives of the Independent Mineworkers' Union have examined the latter's demands and devised a package of relevant agreements.

Speaking at a news conference in Moscow today, Yuriy Shatyrenko noted that the leaders of the Independent Mineworkers' Union have put forward 25 demands, most of which have already been met.

In the deputy labor minister's view, the strike is illegal. He added that its organizers, the Independent Mineworkers' Union, have no right to call a strike while talks are being held.

Yuriy Shatyrenko also believes the union knows that some of its demands are impossible and go beyond the competence of the government group. In particular, he said, these include the demand for changes to the Cabinet of Ministers.

### Protocol Signed; Strike Suspended

*LD0612185393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A report has just been brought to the studio. The government and the Independent Mine Workers' Union have signed a joint protocol. The miners' strike is suspended.

### Vorkuta Miners Reject Accord

*LD0712010393 ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2241 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspodent Viktor Makarov]

[Excerpts] Vorkuta (Komi Republic) 7 December—The indefinite strike begun yesterday by Vorkuta miners is to be prolonged despite the proposal by the Russian Independent Mine Workers Union to suspend it. This was the decision taken late in the evening of 6 December at an emergency joint full session of plenipotentiary representatives of miners' unions, the town workers' strike committee, and the administration and workforces of this Arctic town. [passage omitted]

A meeting is expected to take place in Moscow today [7 December] between a plenipotentiary commission from the town of Vorkuta and representatives of the Russian Government. Later in the day, miners in Vorkuta will discuss the results of these talks, the situation that has arisen, and their further actions.

### All Chelyabinsk Coal Mines Now Working

*LD0712084493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0804 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk November 12 TASS—All enterprises of the Chelyabinsk coal basin are working to normal schedule as of today morning, ITAR-TASS was told by Director-General of the "Chelyabinskugol" (Chelyabinsk Coal) Association Aleksandr Druzhinin. All miners of the three pits and one open-cast working that tried on Monday to back the call for a general strike, issued by the Independent Miners Union, have reported to work. They decided to go back to work after seeing that their actions were disapproved by the absolute majority of South Urals coal miners.

### Gold Miners Demand Payment of Wages Before 10 Dec

*LD0712074093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0722 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Khabarovsk December 7—A branch of the Gold Miners' Union in the Russian Far East has sent a forceful telegram to the government, demanding that they be paid what they are owed before December 10. In case the government does not comply with their demand, the gold miners threaten not to vote for those parties and electoral blocs which include members of the government or political figures close to it in the December 12 elections.

The Far East gold miners' harsh demands were provoked by the government's repeated failures to live up to its promises. For example, the agreement reached between the heads of gold enterprises and unions and government representatives on October 28 in Moscow envisaged full payment in November for the gold handed over to the government. However, the government has yet to fulfill its side of the agreement.

Hundreds of gold miners have not recieved their wages and so cannot afford to return home to their families after the end of the mining season.

The workers in the gold mines, perhaps taking a lesson from their colleages in coal mines, have decided that threatening the government is the only reliable way to get the money which they have worked so hard to earn.

### Major Mining Union Condemns Pechora Strike

*LD0612181093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Rosugleprof, Russia's major trade union of coal miners, has condemned the organizers of the strike that started in Pechora coal basin today. Rosugleprof chairman Vitaliy Budko has expressed regret about the fact that leaders of Russia's independent trade union of miners have taken a course toward splitting up the miners' movement. In August and September, the independent trade union of miners did not support our demands and refused to take part in collective actions, whereas now, at the height of the election campaign, calls for strikes are nothing but an attempt to play the miners' card for speculative and ambitious goals.

### Procuracy Issues Statement on Corruption Investigation

*LD0612223893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1631 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Moscow, 6 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The Information and Public Relations Center of the Russian Federation General Procuracy issued a statement today:

"Recently media has been publishing misleading reports about the investigation of facts submitted to the procuracy by the former Interdepartmental Commission for the Fight Against Corruption, which had been set up by the Russian president. Some of them even draw conclusions about the guilt or innocence of certain high-ranking state officials.

The Information and Public Relations Center of the Russian General Procuracy must state that according to law only the investigation can draw conclusions on a case, which is still far from completion. Attempts by some mass media to present their own opinions as conclusions of the investigation can only be qualified as an attempt to preempt its results and exert pressure on the investigation carried out by the procuracy."

### Commission Hears Draft Rules for Federation Council

*LD0612153993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] The legislative commission reporting to the Russian president held public hearings of the Federation Council draft rules. The draft covers issues such as election of the Federation Council chairman, his deputies, its bureau and committees. The bureau of the upper house will include its speaker, his deputies, and chairmen of committees and will handle day-to-day business and work out the agenda.

The Federation Council will have to form eight committees: on constitutional legislation and legal reform; on federal and regional policy; on the budget, taxes and finances; on the economy; on social policy; on international affairs; on defense and security; and on procedures and ethical matters. The council is free to set up two more committees.

The house will also be able to set up ad hoc commissions.

The legislative commission also discussed a bill on the status of the Federation Council and State Duma deputies. Members of the Federation Council will be part-time and those of the State Duma will be full-time MPs.

Outside their duties as members of parliament, members of the State Duma may only be engaged in educational, research, or creative artistic work. This restriction does not apply to government ministers. Each deputy of either house may be a member in only one parliamentary faction or other deputy union. He will share personally in the activities of the chamber and voting in it.

## Election Issues

### 50 Parties Call For Canceling Constitution Referendum

*LD0612195093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1839 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—Fifty Russian political parties and public associations said the referendum on the draft Constitution should be canceled because the draft establishes authoritarian rule and undermines the basis of federalism in Russia.

The statement was signed by representatives of the parties which took part in the conference "On the referendum on the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation" which was held in Moscow on December 3.

Among them are the Academy of Sciences of the Russian Federation, the Islamic Democratic Party of Russia, the COmmunist Party of the Russian Federation, the Moscow Nobility Assembly, the Slav Assembly, the People's Party Free Russia, the Pushkin Academy, the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and others.

The draft Constitution considerably trims up the rights and social guarantees of citizens. Those who call for the adoption of the Constitution are trying to impose an artificial system of state power and legal relations on people, the statement said.

The signatories suggested canceling the referendum on the draft Constitution scheduled for December 12 in

order to reconsider the draft and submit it to the Federal Assembly or any other specially established legislative body for adoption.

### Reformists Challenge Opposition to TV Debate

*LD0612151693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1505 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—Leaders of two major democratic election blocs agreed to join efforts and challenge two hard-line parties in TV debates.

The Russia's Choice bloc, headed by Yegor Gaydar, and the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc requested the Central Electoral Commission on Monday to assist them in arranging and holding TV debates with the Communist Party of Russia and the Liberal Democratic Party, according to the press service of the Russia's Choice.

It is expected that Gaydar will rival Communist Gennadiy Zyuganov, while Yavlinsky will challenge nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

The organisers of the debates believe they will help voters better understand the differences between reformists and their opponents, as well as between reformists themselves.

### Rutskoy Unlikely To Vote in 12 Dec Elections

*LD0612220593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1745 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Former Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's defense lawyer Yuriy Ivanov says his client is most unlikely to use his right to vote in general elections while in custody at the Security Ministry's Lefortovo prison.

Rutskoy does not recognize the legitimacy of elections in conditions of the president's uncontested rule of the country, Ivanov told Interfax on Monday. Rutskoy considers the vote to be a farce because of differences in financial backing and access to the mass media by electoral blocs fielding candidates for elections to the State Duma.

Nonetheless, Rutskoy believes "once there is a Duma, there will be an opposition as well", according to Ivanov. The lawyer said that even if Rutskoy decided to vote, he would throw weight behind the candidates of his People's Party of Free Russia [PPFR] who ride on tickets from the Civic Union and Russia's Future alliances.

Ivanov says his client relies heavily on a victory by PPFR leader Vassiliy Lipitskiy who stands as independent in an East Siberian election district.

### Shumeyko, Chubays Join Gaydar on Leave for Elections

*LD0712034093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2027 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Interfax has learned from the presidential press service that three Russian deputy prime ministers, two first deputies, Yegor Gaydar and Vladimir Shumeyko and Anatoly Chubays, took an unpaid leave on Monday to participate in the final stage of the election campaign.

Mr. Shumeyko left for Kaliningrad where he was nominated to the Federation Council from the local constituency from the Russia's Choice bloc.

The First Vice Premier of the Russian Federation Yegor Gaydar, who leads the Russia's Choice ticket, will go on Tuesday to St. Petersburg to meet with the electorate.

Anatoliy Chubays who is also on Russia's Choice ticket will devote the days from December 7 to 11 to the election struggle.

Due to the illness of the Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who is in the Central Clinical Hospital, his responsibilities are performed by the First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets. Together with a group of industry ministers, who refused to take part in the election campaign, he is in charge of operative management of the economy.

### Gaydar: Antidemocratic Slander Campaign Reaching Climax

*LD0612173693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1655 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—Yegor Gaydar, reform architect and a frontrunner for the Russia's Choice pro-Yeltsin electoral bloc, is profoundly concerned over the fact that "the campaign of lie and slander against Russia's Choice has reached its climax", the bloc's press service told ITAR-TASS on Monday.

The press service denied media repots that Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is a member of the bloc, had allegedly called for banning all political parties who attack a new draft constitution. The source reminded that earlier Russia's Choice resolutely had refused to back a similar proposal put forward by First Deputy Premier Vladimir Shumeyko.

Gaydar also rejected rumours about drafting by the government of a document depriving aged people of their pensions in case they work for salaries, according to the source.

"No such document had been even planned", the press service quoted Gaydar as saying and added that these rumours "were aimed to discredit Social Security Minister Ella Pamfilova" (third top name on the bloc's list).

### Rumyantsev Predicts Failure of Constitution at Referendum

*LD0612144193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1409 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Yezhov]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—Oleg Rumyantsev, chairman of the constitutional commission of the former Russian parliament, predicted that the draft Constitution of President Boris Yeltsin will not be approved at December 12 referendum, but added that this should not result in early presidential polls.

"The nationwide polls on the draft Constitution will not yield the results which its organisers expect", he told reporters on Monday adding that "the propaganda of the draft began too late".

Rumyantsev believes the new Constitution should be adopted by a new legislature. "Only this democratically elected body with a wide representation of parties and movements has the right to adopt the basic law", he said.

But Rumyantsev, who runs for parliament together with the centrist Civic Union bloc, does not believe that a possible failure of the Constitution should result in early presidential elections.

"Regardless of the result early presidential elections should be considered as a destabilising factor", he said adding that new elections of the president should be held simultaneously with parliamentary polls which are to take place in two years. If the future legislature "fulfils its historic mission and makes authorities return to lawfulness by adopting the law on constitutional assembly, then new democratic elections can be combined with presidential polls. There should be no haste in the question", Rumyantsev said.

The term of office of President Yeltsin expires in 1996. The new parliament will be elected on December 12 for two years.

Rumyantsev said that a meeting of representatives of election blocs was held over the weekend and demanded that authorities cancel the referendum on Constitution. If they refuse, the representatives will demand to register voters separately for the referendum and the parliamentary elections.

### Chubays on Rejecting Constitution

*LD0712071093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0648 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yulia Kantor]

[Text] St. Petersburg December 7 TASS—"Rejection of the new constitution can lead to a public and political explosion," one of the Russia's Choice leaders, Vice-Premier Anatoly Chubays said upon arrival in St. Petersburg today.

"By electing a parliament we shall get a powerful body whose authority will not be clearly defined without a new constitution, which will turn it into a source of instability," Chubays stressed.

He noted that his visit to St. Petersburg was within the frame of the electoral campaign of the bloc "Russia's Choice".

### Democratic Union Supports Draft Constitution

*LD0612154793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] All blocs and candidates campaigning against the draft constitution are "advocates of communism" and must be despised, stated the Central Coordinating Council of the Democratic Union, led by Valeriya Novodvorskaya.

On Monday [6 December], a member of the Central Coordinating Council, Nikolay Zolotnik, handed INTERFAX his party's statement which says that "if the draft constitution is rejected, the country will plunge itself into new rebellions and putsches, and into chaos and civil war. The reforms will be stopped, and the population will be faced with hyper-inflation and hunger."

The authors of the document believe that the draft constitution is ideal for the current situation, because it gives Russia a chance to build capitalism—the only system guaranteeing the individual a worthy standard of living. Moreover, it gives the parliament "an opportunity to work constructively and freely, and rules out a roll- back to socialism.

The Democratic Union believes that the new constitution is opposed only by supporters of communism and fascism.

### European Union Observers To Monitor Elections

*LD0612152793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1448 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—About 200 observers from the European Union will monitor the Russian constitutional referendum and elections to the Federal Assembly scheduled for December 12, in 37 different regions of Russia. This was announced on Monday on a joint press conference held by the Russian Central Electoral Commission and the European Union Observation Center, an organisation especiallly formed to monitor the December elections in Russia.

The observers will pay attention not only to the voting process, but to the way the votes are counted as well. The EU's program also covers the way the elections and the election campaign are reflected in the Russian press.

As was earlier reported, the European observers will present a preliminary report to the representatives of EU member-countries in Moscow on the day after the elections, December 13. The European Council intends to discuss the observers' conclusions on December 20, 1993. The EU Observation Center intends to finish its comprehensive report two weeks after the elections.

The European observers will be present in the largest regions of Russia, including the Krasnodar, Stavropol and Maritime territories, in the Kemerovo and Krasnoyarsk regions, Karelia, Tuva and the Altay.

Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission Nikolay Ryabov told today's press conference that he hopes the European observers will "properly assess" the holding of the first open democratic parliamentary elections in Russia.

## Yavlinskiy Quizzed on Home, Foreign Issues

*BR0612150193 Milan L'ESPRESSO in Italian 5 Dec 93 pp 89,91*

[Interview with economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy by Mauro De Bonis in Moscow; date not given: "Grigoriy Yavlinskiy Interviewed: Hungry for Boris"]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[passage omitted] [De Bonis] Boris Yeltsin has announced that the presidential election will he held in 1996 when his term ends. Is this turnabout a result of the bombardments of October?

[Yavlinskiy] There is a relationship between the bombardment of parliament and the decision to cancel the early election. But we must ask ourselves another question: Why 1996? When Yeltsin was elected president in June 1991 Russia was still a republic of the Soviet Union. So Yeltsin's power must be considered temporary, and the date set for the election in 1996 must be considered entirely arbitrary. If we accept that the elected parliament and Yeltsin's power are of a transitional nature, then within the next six months we must draw up a new constitution, approve it, and on that basis call a general election. Only then can the government be legal. But after what happened 8 October the people must be able to express their opinion of Yeltsin as soon as possible.

[De Bonis] A new military doctrine, a new constitution, and a scaling down of Russia's republics and regions: Is this the new democracy?

[Yavlinskiy] It depends on what we mean by the word "democracy." If it is understood as being bound to the options of whoever is in power, then this new Russian democracy does not exist. We have only a new Russian authoritarianism. Of course, Russia needs a new constitution, solid federative principles. But for all this we must pursue a democratic path, through discussions in parliament and among the people. Yeltsin acts differently. This is why I belong to the democratic opposition.

[De Bonis] If you were Russian president, what would your political, social, and economic options be?

[Yavlinskiy] In foreign policy I would direct my efforts—both political and economic— toward a real integration of the CIS countries. This, with the aim of achieving greater stability among the countries of the former USSR and a beneficial effect on the process of European integration. As for the economic sphere, I would work on a policy of structural changes—the development of free competition, antimonopoly regulations, a reform of economic legislation... With regard to the struggle against inflation, I would pursue several strategies. I would like to point out that inflation in Russia is running at the rate of about 20-25 percent per month. My approach would make it possible to make progress along the path to a new competitive economy and to resolve certain problems such as modernization. In the social sphere, I would implement a system of absorption for the unemployed, and I would stimulate housing construction through the state budget. On the one hand these objectives will make it possible to alleviate the problems deriving from the closure of unproductive firms and from the reduction of the Armed Forces, and on the other they will raise the Russian population's average living standards.

[De Bonis] A heated debate has developed in the West over the president's latest moves. Some consider him a dictator, while others support him as the "lesser evil." How do you consider President Yeltsin —a democrat, a former apparatchik, or the "lesser evil"?

[Yavlinskiy] If the bombardment of the White House was the result of his economic and political reforms, then the descriptions, "democrat" and "lesser evil" are clearly inappropriate. The term "apparatchik," however, is well suited to his kind of policy. A transparent policy implies the search for agreement, consensus, and compromise. That of the apparatchik works differently: He is simply unwilling and unable to reach agreement with anyone. In Russia today this policy is disastrous. The democratic reforms begun in the USSR by Gorbachev gave people freedom and democracy. That was one of the few valuable gains of recent years. Yeltsin has not succeeded in maintaining them. There has been an attempt to change the reforms by means of revolution. But revolution has its own bloodthirsty rules.

[De Bonis] Has the support received from the Armed Forces during the events of October not cost President Yeltsin too high a price?

[Yavlinskiy] That is a difficult question. Yeltsin did use the Army, but for some strange reason he did not use the Interior and Security Ministry troops. Then, as now, it was clear to the chief of state that it would have been enough to deploy them in order to disarm the rebels. Nevertheless, he resorted to the Army, which during the past two years has been told that it would never be used in internal conflicts against its own people. That decision dealt a heavy psychological blow to the Armed Forces.

Now Yeltsin's authority over the Russian Army has been seriously harmed. But I do not foresee a military coup.

[De Bonis] How strong will the communists be in the new parliament?

[Yavlinskiy] According to some opinion polls, the communists will score a major success. This, not because Russian citizens agree with their ideas, but because the bombardment of parliament, the president's ineptitude, and their revulsion for habitual liars are driving the population toward other forces. People have no other choice, since democratic opposition in Russia is only just beginning.

[De Bonis] People in Italy have a catastrophic view of living conditions in Russia. Some people are saying, "It was better before..."

[Yavlinskiy] Until the start of the reform in 1991 life was better, and this is proved by the statistics. So those who say that "life was better before" are right. Before, there were no price hikes, whereas now there are price hikes every day; before, people did not get killed in the streets, whereas now they do; before, drugs were not very prevalent, whereas now there are a great many dealers. In two years the Russians' food situation has changed so substantially that according to the FAO we are now on a par with the underdeveloped countries. The people are oppressed, because they feel that they lack prospects and see wealth accumulating in the hands of a few.

[De Bonis] Is there a danger of creating another Yugoslavia?

[Yavlinskiy] There is no danger of another Yugoslavia, and as far as the "peoples of the republics" are concerned, you must keep in mind that separatism is only championed because of the hunger for power of the regional elites. Federal policy must be directed toward a sensible decentralization and the preservation of a single state. But to do this, too, we must rely solely on democratic procedures.

## Shakhray Forecasts Party's Role in Future Parliament

*LD0612141493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1328 GMT 6 Dec*

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The Party of Russian Unity and Accord can form the nucleus of a democratic majority coalition in the future parliament, according to the party's leaders Sergey Shakhray and Aleksandr Shokhin.

However, no efforts of the leaders of Russia's Choice and the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms to build a pre-election coalition with the Shakhray party or the Yavlinskiy bloc have been crowned with success.

The reason for this is evidently Sergey Shakhray's confidence that his stake on the regions will help the party clear the five- percent barrier in the elections and enable it not to share mandates in the parliament with rival groupings.

The Shakhray party's leaders are deriving their strength in their electoral struggle from the force which symbolizes stability and predictability to a greater extent than any other group in Russian society, and has the enviable ability to think in real centrist categories. This force is made up of the inhabitants of the Russian provinces. The party collected the bulk of signatures in its support in Russia's regions, winning the nickname of "a provincial party" in the process. The Party of Russian Unity and Accord is the only one among the recently formed groups which is seeking to strengthen the Russian state by increasing the rights of the regions. Sergey Shakhray does not conceal his disagreement with the principles laid down in the chapter on the "federative system" of the draft constitution. During his recent electoral tour of the country he repeatedly said that if elected to the parliament he will press for amending the constitution in the part concerning the sovereignty of Russia's regions.

Shakhray's experience of practical work in regions led him to a conclusion that without a political movement operating on a nation- wide scale it is difficult, if not impossible to unite Russia. "A non-party multinational state cannot be kept together," he said. His opponents retort that no single party, particularly among the newly-emerged ones, is cable of cementing together the numerous peoples of the Russian Federation.

## Zhirinovskiy Outlines Party's Election Manifesto

*LD0612144693*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 0850 GMT on 6 December, in its "New Wave" program, carries a 30-minute slot entitled "A Word to the Voter—Your Decision," in which Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDP), presents his party's platform.

The presentation begins with a recent hit song entitled "Vladimir Volfovich", after which Zhirinovskiy speaks about his party's election manifesto.

Zhirinovskiy begins by reiterating his position on the form of administrative structure Russia needs, saying that it must not be divided into ethnic entities, because this only leads to infringement of minorities' rights, to tensions and conflicts. What Russia needs is to revert to its pre-Communist division into fully self-governing provinces, each named after its capital so as to avoid any ethnic connotations. The optimum number of provinces is 40. They should be compact, so that the provincial capital could be easily reached by all those who live in the province, and have populations of 3-5 million population. He says that the basis for the division should be economic, so that each province has its own base, be it industry, agriculture, resorts or something else. Each

province would have 10 deputies in the lower chamber of the Federation Assembly and two senators, he says.

Zhirinovskiy then outlines his proposals for a four-tier executive structure in Russia. Each village should have just one official, a village headman, in charge of all paperwork; each town should have a town governor and a town board; each province should have a governor, who would head the executive, and the province government. The federal authorities, based in Moscow, should be the president and the central government. He goes on to say that as for the legislature, larger cities should have a town duma of 30-50 people; each province should have a provincial assembly or duma, of about the same size; and finally, the Federal Assembly based in Moscow.

Zhirinovskiy says that on 12 December people should vote for "those who do not want a revolution, who never took part in one, who never launched ill-thought-out restructuring." Only the Liberal-Democratic Party has such people, he says. Other parties "are headed by former or present communists, who built the USSR, the administrative economy, the one-party rule of the CPSU. They have created all the difficulties they are now urging us to fight."

He says that many Russians will vote for LDP, contrary to officially published polls.

He then criticizes those who created "communism for themselves," when they had everything free, and who then became capitalists with the same privileges, and more. "When they stand before you and smile, you can see their rosy faces and roving eyes. One of them keeps smacking his lips when he speaks. It looks as if he has just torn himself away from a tub full of sweet double cream, and is yet to digest it—he enjoys life so much. His grandfather was in the first civil war, chopping at thousands of white officers with his sword. This whole family keeps provoking our people into civil war, into perestroyka, and keeps thrusting their decision upon us. It's only this family that knows how Russia can steer out of the crisis, be it in 1917 or in 1993. It's this family that urges us to come out into the streets at night, unarmed, to protect—to protect whom? Well, this seems to be hereditary, it's in the genes, and there's nothing to be done.

"But there is now a chance to stop these people, to let them have a rest. They have enough money to go abroad and write memoirs there. So it would be nice if on 12 December, Russians let new political forces get into power—those whose hands aren't stained with blood or mud, those who have a very realistic program."

Zhirinovskiy says that his promises are not empty. For instance, it is perfectly possible to provide 200,000 officers with accommodation within six months, because there is a lot of accommodation that is being concealed and illegally rented or sold. Zhirinovskiy castigates those who robbed people of their savings by making them worthless, claiming that it is possible to give these savings back to the people. He then points out that country has trash containing precious metals worth $53 billion; other countries owe Russia about $100 billion; Russian citizens' deposits in foreign banks amount to $200 billion; even more money can be derived from cutting the bureaucratic apparatus by one third.

He then speaks about ways to make life easier for pensioners, by exempting them from paying rent, bills and fares; and by opening special shops with cheap low-quality goods.

Zhirinovskiy proposes that military service should be mandatory, but should start at the age of 23 or 24, after young men finish their course of studies; that those registered as residing in a town should be allowed to stay in this town's hotels, thus allowing newly-weds to spend some time on their own.

He then goes on to describe some alternative ways to use pivatization vouchers, to obtain property that can then be rented. He says that the state can better organize the labor market and avoid high unemployment. He says that in order to fight crime, it is necessary to introduce a visa regime for all foreigners coming into Russia, notably Georgians, Armenians and Azeris.

Zhirinovskiy concludes by inviting everyone to a rally and "the festival of the Russian people, of our democracy," on 10 December, near the Red Square. He says that will be bands, and folk concerts, and that he himself will speak.

## News Conference Hears Parties' Hopes for Seats

*LD0612151493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1447 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The Social Democratic Party of Russia is counting to obtain 10-15 seats in a new parliament, and the Republican Party of the Russian Federation—15-30 seats, Vladimir Boldyrev, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Russia, and Vladimir Lysenko, co-chairman of the Republican Party of the Russian Federation, told a news conference here today.

In accordance with its charter, the Social Democratic Party of Russia plans to set up a parliamentary group in a new parliament which may join the democratic coalition, Vladimir Boldyrev said.

The leader of the Republican Party of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Lysenko, acquainted journalists with the appeal which he had sent to the Russian president today. The document contains amendments to the constitution without which "its adoption may prove to be rather difficult." Vladimir Lysenko proposes in particular that the president should present a premier but not appoint him.

In addition, Vladimir Lysenko believes that an impeachment procedure concerning president should be

changed, and the provision on the president's right to dissolve a parliament if this legislative body rejects a candidature of prime minister three times in succession, should be abolished.

### Civic Union Program Critically Evaluated

*PM0612163993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 2*

[Report by Dmitriy Orlov under the "Russia Before the Elections" rubric: "Behind Civic Union's Populist Slogans Stands an Overtly Inflationary Policy. Analysis of Civic Union's Economic Program Demonstrates This"]

[Text] Civic Union's economic program is almost entirely lifted from the theses of one of its founders, the RUIE [Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs] adopted 16 November at its fifth congress. As A. Volskiy noted 24 November at a news conference, the contributions of other founders are immaterial. The quintessence of Civic Union's program in the sphere of economic policy is concentrated in a chapter entitled "The Way to the Market: Creation, Not Destruction," and in Civic Union's appeals to the voter. Reliance on the country's own forces, a managed national economy, state control of foreign trade ("Channel the country's national resources into serving Russia, not into the hands of a bribery-bloated bureaucracy!"), and economic equality of rights between the city and the countryside are proclaimed by means of the "principles of reform" as understood by Civic Union. Unfortunately, the electoral association has not managed to avoid populist slogans which are bound, obviously, to influence the voters' behavior: "No to a massive economic shock! No to mass unemployment! Remove the taxation noose from the neck of Russia's own production!... Property to those who created it! Land in the hands of those who work it!" Of course, RUIE's more academic text is considerably more specific and virtually devoid of demagogic slogans.

According to the authors of the economic program, "the aim of reforms" must be "a socially oriented market economy." The program points out that the implementation of a rigid finance and credit policy has led to "the development of enterprise, the banking sphere, and citizens' economic freedoms," but that the absence of a competitive environment and a broad stratum of private owners and entrepreneurs has not brought about the stabilization of the situation or halted the rise in inflation. Financial revival and the social protection of the population, in the opinion of the program's authors, cannot be arrived at "without halting the slump in production." "...The emphasis is on the regeneration of national industry," Civic Union declares, and the market is perceived as a means of increasing the efficiency of national production.

In the sphere of fighting inflation, Civic Union's program is riddled with internal inconsistencies. The program's authors set a very specific task: namely, to bring the inflation level down "to 10 percent in the near future, and subsequently to between 4 and 7 percent per month." However, the measures proposed to realize this task are more likely to lead to a new twist in the inflationary spiral. Judge for yourselves: "To switch to the financial support of enterprises...particularly in the sphere of defense industry conversion...by means of subsidizing interest rates on credit from commercial banks"; to transfer to the practice of contractual price formation on a limited range of goods and services "on the basis of agreements between commodity producers and the state with the application of stringent economic sanctions." Thus, what is proposed is the accelerated financing of inefficient production units from taxpayers' pockets and the parallel regulation of prices. The consequences of such a policy are surreptitious and rampant inflation, and a commodity famine. Proposals on transferring to crediting the state budget via the Central Bank's purchase of securities from the state and their subsequent sale on the open market appear strange against this background, as do proposals on ensuring the inevitability of bankruptcies. It is perfectly obvious that the inflationary undertakings make it difficult to carry out these tasks.

Likewise, the measures being proposed by Civic Union on the structural overhaul of the economy and the reinforcement of the internal market are also blatantly inflationary. The program's authors assert that the "flotation [aktsivizatsiya] of the investment process" is possible in the event of "the partial compensation of the population's funds deposited in accounts at the Russian Federation Savings Bank for use exclusively for investment purposes," the tax exemption of funds being channeled into extending and modernizing production, and, finally, the "allocation by the Russian Federation Central Bank of preferential credits to commercial banks for the specific purpose of production investments in priority sectors." Without any doubt, implementing these provisions, particularly as a package, will bury the internal market. There are plans for a highly original means of increasing the competitivity of domestically produced commodities: "maintaining internal prices of energy sources and certain forms of raw and other materials at a level below the world level." I suggest that in conditions of an open market economy (and Civic Union by no means proposes establishing an "iron curtain"), this merely increases the speculative sector of the economy and has a truly insignificant effect on the competitivity of Russian commodities. In this case, the capacity of the internal market is unlikely to increase to any significant degree either. At the same time, proposals on audits at industrial enterprises and state support for foreign investment projects are, in our view, fairly constructive.

Civic Union's taxation policy reflects the interests of major commodity producers whose production is not in constant demand: It is proposed that there be a "shift away from taxing enterprise profits toward taxing the aggregate value of the sold output." Leaving aside for a

second the issue of monitoring sales, let us think about where this might lead. Primarily to the carefree existence of those who, frankly, produce inferior output.

The content of Civic Union's proposed policy in the sphere of privatization constitutes overt monopolism. "The combined ownership [perekrestnoye vladeniye] of shares in industrial and trade enterprises," the "creation of industrial-financial groups," the removal of restrictions on the activity of holdings—and the program's authors do not restrict themselves to this. In the interests of managerial capital they are prepared to deprive small shareholders of dividends by proposing "for the first two or three years to reserve for reinvestment purposes the bulk of the profit of enterprises being privatized." At the same time, the proposal on the proxy [doveritelnyy] management of shares belonging to the state by directors of privatized enterprises appears quite constructive. Agrarian policy is aimed at supporting the most efficient producers.

In the sphere of foreign economic relations Civic Union proposes, in particular, "to remove customs duties from imported raw materials for the production of consumer goods." To whom in this case is the government offering incentives—foreign extractive enterprises? Points on "the transfer of hard currency resources abroad via a strictly limited quantity of authorized banks," and on "a valid ruble exchange rate" during the purchase by foreigners of real estate in Russia are blatantly unrealistic. Equally unrealistic—but, it seems to us, something that would be highly desirable in the long run—is Civic Union's proposed abolition of all export taxes for Russian manufacturing industry.

Civic Union's social program is mere pretension. It is extremely difficult in conditions of a general and, subsequently, structural economic crisis to preserve and create jobs in regions with a stagnating economy, to finance public work programs, and to help literally all strata of society, let alone "to reduce to a minimum primary contributions to the housing construction cooperative," and to make use of preferential credits to "acquire expensive home-produced commodities."

How, as a whole, can the economic program submitted by the Civic Union electoral association "For Stability, Justice, and Progress" be described? Briefly, it is an overtly inflationary policy.

Today, it is not questions of the "State Plan or self-regulation" type which are becoming fundamental, but wholly specific problems of inflation rates, taxation levels, import subsidies, and so on. From this standpoint it can be noted that Civic Union reflects the interests of a fairly conservative section of the management of major state enterprises and privatized structures. The financing of the military-industrial complex, preferential credits, monopolism, and populist social programs are measures capable of creating serious problems even in a flourishing economy. In current conditions, when even the basic preconditions for economic revival have yet to be formed—the main one being financial stability—Civic Union's economic program, should it be realized, will place society before an abyss which will not be all that easy to negotiate.

## Divisions Within Democratic Camp Examined

*PM0612160793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 3*

[Article by Nikolay Troitskiy: "Inappropriate Battles"]

[Text] Preelection passions are flaring up in Russia. Rivals are getting excited, they are getting personal—and that means reproaches, suspicions, and direct insults, and they are not far from scuffles. Everything is apparently normal: There are a lot of candidates, and few seats in the parliament. And war is war.

But there is something strange in these combat operations. The democratic front, instead of closing ranks and advancing on its common opponents—the "centrists," the communists, and others like them, has disintegrated and gotten bogged down in internecine strife.

"Russia's Choice" is keeping strong and calm, is calling for "general democratic accord" and is prepared to rally and unite all the political "relations." But the "relations"—the Party of Russian Unity and Accord (PRUA), the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc under the code name "Yabloko," and the Popov-Sobchak Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms [RMDR]—do not want to unite with their brothers in reform, are noticeably nervous, and are fighting, some listlessly, others spitefully, against "Russia's Choice" itself

Admittedly the RMDR is keeping slightly phlegmatic and aloof, possibly counting on the personal charm of Anatoliy Sobchak and Svyatoslav Fedorov, and the acting talent of Oleg Basilashvili. On the other hand the "newly arisen" blocs—the PRUA and "Yabloko," are youthfully sportive and are temperamentally snarling at their older comrades (the average age of the leaders of the three blocs is the same, but "Russia's Choice" appeared on the political arena somewhat earlier).

But why have the "young people of the election" started fighting with their recent colleagues, kindred spirits, and brothers in arms, rather than their tried and tested opponents? There is no paradox here. Both Yavlinskiy and Shakhray and their company are afflicted with the "childhood disease" of self-identification. Or to put it in simple terms, they want to show the world and the electorate that they are just as grown up as everyone else and know how to run the country.

And "Russia's Choice" is getting in their way. After all, with the best will in the world, neither Shakhray nor Yavlinskiy, along with Boldyrev and Lukin, nor incidentally, Sobchak and Popov, can be muddled up with the communists, Zhirinovskiy, or with the directors' civic

union. But they can be muddled up with the leaders of "Russia's Choice"—Gaydar, Burbulis, and Boris Fedorov.

So they have to dissociate themselves and occupy a bellicose stance. It is most difficult for the leaders of the PRUA: The leaders of the preelection bloc consist almost entirely of vice premiers, ministers, and other officials who are not even considering leaving the state apparatus. How can you identify yourself here? But they have found an opportunity. Shakhray suddenly declared himself to be an ardent supporter of the state system and is acquiring a state-like manner, evidently dropping a transparent hint that "Russia's Choice" intends to break Russia up. All right, the PRUA is the state's last hope. But the party ideologists are contradicting each other. Vice Premier Shokhin, who recently became Shakhray's fellow fighter, called the economic program of "Russia's Choice" a "Pinochet-style" one. The point is not even that "Russia's Choice" intends to continue implementing the official government economic policy, and Shokhin has been working in the "Pinochet-style" government since fall of 1991. Anything goes in the preelection fever.... Something else is amusing: Pinochet of all people was actually a firm supporter of the state system, that is if, of course, this mysterious term means anything at all.

Whereas it is hard or even impossible for the PRUA to isolate itself from the government, and it has to rely in its program on formulas of the type "sensible protectionism" (who would be against it if it is sensible?) and "state support" (on the understanding that everyone is in favor of the market), then it is far easier for the leaders of "Yabloko" to distance themselves. The leaders are not working in the apparatus today (admittedly, Lukin is an incumbent ambassador, but that is a mere trifle) and can afford to criticize the Cabinet of Ministers, demand the speediest reelection of the president, and even condemn the referendum on the Constitution. It is wonderful and easy to play the role of the "constructive opposition," saying let us into the government and we will take the reforms where they need to go. If not for one important circumstance.

There is also the "unconstructive" opposition. And it has its own electorate (that is what learned people call us, the voters). And neither the PRUA, nor Yavlinskiy can take a single person away from them. For them, all democrats are as one, even if they talk about "sovereign power" or criticize the reforms on details.

And the conflicts within the democratic camp look like a storm in a teacup (this teacup may, however, explode). "Russia's Choice," PRUA, "Yabloko," and RMDR have the same potential voters. Theoretically speaking, these are the people who voted 25 April for confidence in Yeltsin and the reforms, and will vote in favor of the new Constitution 12 December.

Of course, here are certain subtleties which politically concerned intellectuals and members of the intelligentsia are prepared to scrutinize. But how many of them are there throughout the whole of Russia? Five or 6 percent. Incidentally, this is the pass mark for parliamentary party candidates. But this demanding public will now inevitably split into four parts. And most of the electorate will be oriented according to a simple compass, tried out in the battles of recent years—for or against Yeltsin.

Although Shakhray, with the important air of an expert, states that Boris Nikolayevich is equally favorably disposed toward all the democratic blocs, the voter will, without any further ado, identify Yeltsin specifically with "Russia's Choice." And without going into the intricacies of the proportional system, people will look out for familiar names on the party lists. And those who decide to support Yeltsin will no doubt also respond to

## 'Future of Russia-New Names' Policy Viewed

*PM0612142793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 2*

[Report by Aleksandr Meshkov: "A Poor Man Cannot Be Free"]

[Text] The "Future of Russia-New Names" election association was formed 23 October 1993 at an inaugural session of fully empowered representatives of the Youth Movement in Support of the "Free Russia People's Party" and the "Civic Union" political and economic association.

The leaders of the election association are Vyacheslav Lashchevskiy, Oleg Sokolov, and Vladimir Mironov.

The first signs that new people were entering politics appeared back in the summer of 1991. At the time the "Smena-New Policy" faction announced its presence in the Russian Supreme Soviet. Its policy guidelines did not fit into the Procrustes' bed of the usual "democratic" postulates. The parliamentarians, whose average age was 35, put first not "revolutionary expediency" but the law, and opposed possible "shock" methods of implementing reforms and the westernization of life and Russia's collapse. They fought for priority for Russian and not foreign capital, for a single federative state on the Union's territory.

Some people chose to see in these guidelines only the desire to assert themselves, to win political capital. Life has shown that a society which has grown tired of the democratic radicals' experiments is becoming increasingly receptive to these ideas. But "Smena-New Policy" itself, busy with parliamentary battles and the defense of the parliamentarianism that is so unpopular in Russia, was soon lost in the varied concerns of our political life.

After "Black October" some young Russian politicians decided their hour had come. "The elections make it possible to replace the old school of politicians who have compromised themselves by taking part on one side or the other in the 3-4 October events," says Oleg Sokolov,

chairman of the "Free Russia" youth movement. He is one of the top three candidate deputies nominated for the all-federal list by the "Future of Russia-New Names" election bloc (apart from the "Free Russia" youth movement the Russian Youth Union and the Russian Council of Young Scientists and Specialists were the initiators of this association). He is 31 years old, a graduate of the Samara economics institute, and has defended his dissertation in Moscow. Two years ago he joined the Free Russian People's Party and later headed its youth wing. Here are the other leaders. Vyacheslav Lashchevskiy, 34 years old, is the present first secretary of the Russian Youth League and was at the origins of the "Surgut initiative"—a democratic movement within the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League which laid the foundation to the reform of the Communist Youth League. Policy Institute Director 39-year-old Vladimir Mironov, a candidate of historical sciences, apart from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations has graduated from the National Administration School in Paris and has worked at the Foreign Ministry and Academy of Sciences.

A considerable percentage of those aged 30-40 on the electoral list and the appeals to this age category are no accident. "It is a socially active age," Oleg Sokolov believes. "On the one hand people have already achieved something in life and still have enough energy to make changes, to reform society. On the other they are the bears of what are far from the most traditions formed in our country not only over the past 70 years but also over the centuries of Russian statehood which have now been subjected to destructive criticism."

But the new bloc regards as its potential voters not only this category of the population but also all Russians and various social strata which feel responsibility for the country in which they were born and do not want to abandon. What is the program which can unite social and age strata of varied interests? It hinges on common sense and defense of Russia's national interests. Everyone is interested in a strong and flourishing Fatherland and that means different social groups will have to make certain concessions and compromises and agree on some restrictions. National solidarity is needed, as is a certain social contract—"so that reforms are not pushed through but implemented with the consent of the majority of the population." Natural support from business should result in the appearance of new jobs. The "national solidarity" principle also means the participation of workers in decision making, the development of production democracy—what seems proper in the West and is not yet accepted by ordinary awareness in our country. This principle also provides for the protection of social outsiders.

"A person who begs in the subway cannot be free," the bloc's leaders believe. "Neither politically nor economically. For the poorest strata of the population it is essential to set up a socially guaranteed minimum and the state must be responsible for its observance. Each person has the right to food, a roof over his head, the preservation and maintenance of his health, education, and access to culture. Each person has the right to claim that minimum of benefits essential for his life irrespective of income and social status."

### Federation Council Candidate Murdered in Dagestan

*LD0712102993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0921 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gadzhi Shamov]

[Text] Makhachkala December 7 TASS—The electoral campaign in Dagestan (west of the Caspian Sea in southern Russia) is being marred by more and more criminal actions. Monday evening the chairman of the commercial investment corporation "Dagestan", Baravutdin Gadzhiyev, was gunned down by submachine gun fire as he left his office in the center of the city. Gadzhiyev was running for a spot in Russia's Federation Council, the upper chamber of the future Russian parliament.

Two other people were killed along with Gadzhiyev. The murderers fled the scene of the crime, and are now being searched for.

Gadzhiyev headed the Dagestan republic Ministry of Trade for twenty years until the ministry was abolished last year. With his many connections, popularity, and specific electoral program aimed at improving living conditions for the population, it is evident that the deceased had a real chance of entering the parliament.

Whether the murder was connected specifically with electoral campaign feuds or if enemies were just settling old accounts with Gadzhiyev has yet to be determined.

## Media Issues

### Paper To Include New 'Money' Section

*PM0212145193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 1 Dec 93 p 1*

[Article by Vice Premier Boris Fedorov: "Everyone Is Interested in Money, Therefore Everyone Will Be Interested in ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's New Supplement"—from the "Dengi" section]

[Text] There is plenty of room for argument over the achievements and failures of the two years of economic reform in Russia. Yes, the people's standard of living has fallen; yes, the slump in production, though it has slowed down significantly, has not halted; and yes, the structural restructuring of industry is proceeding at a lethargic pace and we are proving quite unable to expend our resources economically.

All this, of course, is true. But we should not ignore the other side of the coin either. For perhaps the first time in the last 50 years, money is really working in Russia. Money as such, and not party decrees, orders from above, or threats of the

use of force. As a financier, I believe that this is one of our most significant achievements.

The State Planning Committees and State Committees for Material and Technical Supply are a thing of the past, but the country survives, enterprises are working, and they are driven not by the desire to produce machine tools for the sake of machine tools, coal for the sake of coal, metal for the sake of metal. Other incentives have come into effect, the first of which is to sell output and earn money. And the efficiency of the labor of millions of people is finally being measured not in tonnes, cubic meters, or thousands of items produced, but in terms of specific output sold on the free market or needed by a specific consumer.

After all, until quite recently no one gave a thought to how to sell goods. The word "marketing" was unfamiliar to Soviet directors and applied exclusively to the realities of other people's lives. The science of earning money was considered unnecessary and trivial. Why was it necessary, when trade (not to be confused with the market) seized upon any goods with both hands, while consumers waited for months on end for products to be delivered. In this system money effectively did not fulfill its functions. It was easily superseded by vouchers, coupons, cards, or primitive barter, as in the last years of perestroyka. No one believed that the "wooden" ruble would quickly manage to acquire the tint of a noble metal.

But not quite two years have passed, and the Russian ruble has become a coveted currency for many of our former compatriots. Inside Russia itself everything can be bought for rubles: a shirt, a Mercedes, an airplane, a villa with a swimming pool. And you don't have to write your number in the waiting line on the palm of your hand or produce a voucher endorsed by the local housing authority.

Prices are another matter altogether. And perhaps not so much the prices themselves, with a string of zeros on the end, as their constant, unchecked growth. No one needs to be told the meaning of inflation today: Suffice to go to the store for two weeks running. Only the reduction of inflation will make a real difference to every Russian citizen, and it is by this indicator that he will judge the success or failure of any economic transformations.

This is why the Russian Government, in declaring its firm intention to strive to improve and boost the Russian economy, considers the reduction of inflation to 15 percent in January and to 3-5 percent in December 1994 to be one of its paramount tasks. We are deliberately committing ourselves to tightening up approaches to the formation and implementation of budget policy. Next year the federal budget deficit will be within 5 percent of GDP; moreover, at least 30 percent of it should be covered through the issue of securities, promissory notes, and shares floated on a voluntary basis.

We need real money, not false and worthless emission injections. The experience of all developed countries using the market method of managing the economy has long since proved that an upturn in the economy and the people's standard of living always begins with the revival and stabilization of money. Is it worth our while to experiment, to try to go "our own way," only to quickly find that it leads to a dead end, and then, having experienced huge difficulties and deprivations, to end up where we started?

Only one small thing, it seems to me, is needed to normalize the situation in our country: To learn to live according to our means. We aim at ensuring that any expenditure decisions in excess of the ratified budget are adopted only when a source of additional revenue has been found, or other expenditure has been reduced. Dozens of laws and decrees have already been adopted in our country which cannot be fulfilled without destroying the economic foundations of the state.

I very much hope that ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's new section, which bears the topical name "Dengi" [money], will help readers to better grasp the essence of the processes under way in the economy. It would not go amiss if, alongside articles by well-known scientists and financiers expounding their ideas and their understanding of the situation, it were to feature materials by practitioners, by people who have succeeded in restructuring mainly their thinking and in organizing a normal life in market conditions.

I am sure that the new section will be of interest for thousands of Russians, even if they are far from the world of banking and financial problems, if only for the simple reason that there is probably no one who in principle is not interested in money and the opportunity to earn it honestly.

## Economic Issues

### Bankers Deplore Mafia Murder of Bank Chairman

*LD0612170293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1510 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[by ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Dec—Russia's main commercial banks are suspending their work on the day of the funeral of Chairman of Rosselkhozbank Nikolay Likhachev. A statement by the chairmen of the board of the country's main banks, including Promstroybank, Mozbiznesbank, Vneshtorgbank, Kredo Bank, Unikombank, Sberbank Rossii, Most-Bank, Bank Menatep, Mezhdunarodnyy Sberbank, Tekhnobank and others, says that "the news of the wicked murder of the bank chairman has outraged Russia's civilized business circles and representatives of the banking sphere in particular."

The heads of the banks, "voicing their resolute condemnation and anger at the murder of Nikolay Likhachev," stress that this is "far from being the first instance of violence by mafia gangs against businessmen in the past

few months." In the bankers' opinion, it is extremely alarming that "essentially no effective measures have been taken by the law enforcement bodies to expose the criminals and bring them to court, a fact which destabilizes the socio-political situation in the country."

"One gains the impression," the statement says, "that the state, in the embodiment of the supreme executive power, despite its repeatedly declared resolution to fight with all its might against organized crime, has in fact gone no further than issuing loud statements about it, while actually distancing itself from a solution to this most acute problem and thus provoking the further criminalization of Russian business."

The heads of Russia's major banks demand "swift development and implementation of a truly effective complex mechanism to prevent and combat organized crime, and clear state guarantees of security for businessmen" from the country's leadership, as well as "emergency measures to detain the murderers of Mr. Likhachev and other slain entrepreneurs, and also to unremittingly combat gang formations by using all the powerful means at the disposal of the state."

## Government To Regulate Auto Plant Privatization

*PM0612161793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 1*

[Report by Dmitriy Vasilyev: "AvtoVAZ Privatization Will Take Place in Accordance With the Law"]

[Text] To date 6,200 large enterprises representing the base sectors of the national economy—machine building, oil and gas extraction, construction, metallurgy, chemistry, and so forth—have been privatized in Russia. Approximately one-third of all industrial employees, or 6 million people, work at these enterprises. One hundred of these enterprises have incorporation capital of over 250 million rubles [R].

At the present time another 40 enterprises with incorporation capital of over R1 billion are being made ready for check auctions. One of them is the mammoth motor vehicle manufacturing concern AvtoVAZ. Wishing to retain control of the flotation process, the concern's board of directors put forward its own demands on how it is to be privatized, thus committing a major infringement of the "rules of the game" formulated by Goskomimushchestvo [State Committee for the Management of State Property].

As a result of lengthy talks between Goskomimushchestvo and AvtoVAZ, 27.5 percent of the shares (5,889 individual shares) instead of the planned 21.5 percent—which complies with Russian legislation—will be offered for sale at check auctions between 17 January and 6 February 1994 all over Russia, not just in certain regions, as the motor vehicle manufacturers had wanted. Goskomimushchestvo is contemplating an AvtoVAZ share price of 2-3 privatization checks per share.

A further increase in the voucher exchange rate is anticipated all over the country, due first of all to the fact that extremely attractive large enterprises are being offered for sale, and second to the increasing scarcity of vouchers.

## Zaveryukha on Cutting Food Imports

*PM0612154593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 1*

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Zaveryukha by Aleksandr Gavrilyuk; place and date not given: "Imports Cut, We Are Going To Eat Our Own Produce"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] All year the country has been living in anticipation of a record harvest. The figures quoted were fantastic—Russia was preparing to harvest 120 or even 125 million tonnes of grain compared with 106.8 million tonnes last year. This estimated harvest allowed us to increase grain purchases for the federal and regional reserves by 50 percent and to reduce to a minimum or altogether abandon expensive and humiliating grain imports next year, particularly as the country's leaders have been making such statements to this day. But the harvest campaign is now over and what has happened?... Our conversation with Aleksandr Zaveryukha, Russian Government vice premier with responsibility for the agrarian sector, was on this subject.

[Zaveryukha] Indeed, there was much talk of an unprecedented harvest, and there was even a presidential resolution asking: "Where is your record harvest?" But everybody understands that grain in the fields is one matter and grain in the granaries quite another. The weather, the lack of financial resources, and the shortage of equipment and fuel delayed the harvest. As a result 3 million hectares of grain crops were snowed over, and the total yield, according to preliminary estimates, will amount to about 100-102 million tonnes, which is 5-6 million tonnes less than last year.

Nevertheless, it is a question not so much of producing as of selling agricultural output, and so I am convinced that the government made the right decision when it cut grain imports by 50 percent and imports of meat products by more than 75 percent. What is more, we have completely ended the centralized import of potatoes, vegetables, wine, and wool with state resources. All these products are in plentiful supply in the country. There are already 26 million tonnes of grain in the elevators, and the cold stores are packed with home-produced meat and butter. And the situation remains unchanged with regard to grain, milk, and meat, although the prospects for next year's harvest are not encouraging: Some 4.2 million fewer hectares of winter crops have been sown, 5 million fewer hectares have been fall-plowed, large areas have not received mineral fertilizers, organic fertilizers are practically not being transported out into the fields, and there are no pesticides and herbicides, so there is massive weed infestation of the fields....

[Gavrilyuk] What then is the government's agrarian policy?

[Zaveryukha] First and foremost, and I consider this the most important thing, we have managed to sort out food imports. Here I came up against stiff resistance from the foreign economic departments and structures concerned.

For example, due to abolition of the food coefficient, commercial structures have now lost out badly since the Finance Ministry lowered its value by using these coefficients, and businessmen have again established the prices they want. Or another example, just recently I delayed a decision which had been prepared on allotting gas quotas for the purchase of food. These structures are constantly looking out for ways, whether through leasing or clearing, to deliver food to the country when we do not know what to do with our own. [Zaveryukha ends]

Here I must interrupt Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha and will try to decode what he said about "stiff resistance from those who have a strong interest in the import of foodstuffs into the country."

It is now difficult to say when this confrontation began. It most likely began the moment the vice premier began to sort out imports. For example, he three times removed Australian and New Zealand wool from the list of critical imports, but documents were nevertheless produced for it. While Russian wool did not have a market. Then the tactics changed slightly: Australian wool began to be brought from Kazakhstan through clearing trade, with cheap oil being sold to that republic in exchange for this ill-starred wool. There is a similar situation with regard to flax.

"I can only guess how much the interested parties are making out of these deals, the amounts run into billions. I am very inconvenient to them which is why I am being attacked on all sides," the vice premier remarked at one point in our conversation.

But events thereafter developed as though in a movie about the Italian mafia, though I must immediately make the proviso: This could all be coincidence and sheer chance, but Zaveryukha now has a bodyguard.

First the vice premier received anonymous letters warning him that it is time he cooled it, as the authors put it, over restrictions on food imports, then an explosive device was planted outside his daughter's door at her home in Orenburg. It was only by a happy accident that a tragedy did not take place. Incidentally, everything in the apartment—her furniture and possessions—was reduced to ashes. Let us, however, return to the conversation.

[Gavrilyuk] But it is not only food imports which concern our agro-industrial complex.

[Zaveryukha] The most important thing at the moment is of course finance. We have succeeded in defending at state level the granting of preferential credits for agricultural production. The government has set aside 2.2 trillion rubles for this. We have succeeded in persuading the members of the Cabinet of Ministers that 50 percent compensation for mixed feed is necessary.

[Gavrilyuk] Unfortunately, these sums have so far existed only on paper.

[Zaveryukha] Yes, that's true. I regard this as an an omission on my part, but Government Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin has again instructed that the money be found. If it is, there will be an absolute guarantee that livestock and poultry production will increase not only in the large complexes and state poultry farms, but also in the private and subsidiary farms. Then again we will be certain to be able to abandon imports of these products.

[Gavrilyuk] Everybody knows that the country is in a grave financial situation. Do the peasants' problems always meet with understanding in the government?

[Zaveryukha] The fact that these decisions are being adopted means that the government knows about the situation in the countryside. It is a different matter that the financial bodies' leaders do not always react appropriately to these decisions, although it is absolutely obvious that if we finally destroy our own livestock raising and poultry farming, we will buy these products abroad, which will be immeasurably more expensive. Then harsh words and name-calling will apprently become the norm.

## Nonacceptance of Small Denominations Illegal

*PM0712093193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 1*

[Unattributed report under the "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric: "The Law Applies to Everyone"]

[Text] The Central Bank of the Russian Federation Main Administration for Moscow informed BIZNES-TASS yesterday of numerous complaints by citizens about commercial structures and currency exchange bureaus which refuse to accept bank notes of a face value under 1,000 rubles [R].

In this connection, the Central Bank of the Russian Federation Main Administration for Moscow makes it clear that all organizations and institutions in the capital are obliged to accept Bank of Russia bank notes of any face value. All commercial banks and cash payment centers have been notified of the Central Bank's instruction to this effect. Any refusal to accept bank notes of a face value under R1,000 is in breach of the Russian Federation Law "On the Money System of the Russian Federation," and administrative measures will be taken against enterprises breaching this law.

## Military & Space Issues

### Grachev Delivers Staff Academy Lecture on Military Doctrine

*PM0612114993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Dec 93 p 1*

[Report by Colonel Gennadiy Miranovich: "Adoption of Military Doctrine Is Only the Beginning"]

[Text] The Army and Navy are still studying the "Basic Provisions of Russian Federation Military Doctrine" adopted by the Security Council and the country's president in November.

On Friday the defense minister delivered another lecture on the doctrine. This time his audience comprised professors, teachers, and students at the Military Academy of the General Staff. Army General Pavel Grachev prefaced the lecture by stressing that the "Basic Provisions of Russian Federation Military Doctrine" is a document in whose preparation all structures of state authority took part along with the Defense Ministry. He also remarked that our official view of problems of military security in present-day conditions, which has been set out in the document for the first time, elicited keen interest worldwide and is being scrupulously studied. At the same time we must regard the doctrine not as dogma but as a specific document whosee provisions can be amplified and supplemented in line with military-political and other realities.

The lecture examined questions linked to the evolution of Russian doctrinal views of the state's security and factors determining the main provisions of the doctrine that has now been adopted, and revealed its content. In conclusion Army Gen. Pavel Grachev talked about the tasks facing the Russian Armed Forces during the 1994 academic year.

### Expert on Nuclear Aspects of Military Doctrine

*MK0312104093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 pp 1, 3*

[Article by Aleksey Arbatov, doctor of history, director of the Center for Geopolitical and Military Forecasts; from the "Armaments" column: "The Nuclear Dilemma of the Military Doctrine. Against Whom Will These Weapons Be Targeted?"]

[Text] The long-awaited military doctrine has at last been adopted by the Russian leadership. It (or rather what has been published and explained about it) produces a contradictory impression. The doctrine contains a whole number of positive new aspects relating to the understanding of security in contemporary conditions, an appraisal of military threats, a definition of Russia's military needs and capabilities, and collective peacekeeping operations.

At the same time, along with the positive novel aspects of the Russian doctrine (whose list could be continued), some points evoke confusion and even concern. This primarily relates to the renunciation of the USSR's 1982 obligation not be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Russian doctrine envisions the possibility of initiative in using nuclear weapons against nuclear powers, their allies and countries that are not parties to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. True, this is done in a veiled form (it speaks about use in general and not about first use), but the subsequent authoritative comments and general logic suggest that this is precisely what is involved. Let us consider the main arguments in favor of this approach.

Thus, it is explained that "nuclear weapons are regarded primarily not as a means of conducting warfare but as a political deterrent against aggression." It seems that what we have here is a confusion of notions: The nuclear weapons of any state primarily play a political role formulated as "containment of aggression," no matter how this could be interpreted. But the weapons play this role precisely owing to their capability to carry out particular military actions, and in no other way.

A key question therefore is not which instrument nuclear weapons are, political or military—with respect to nuclear weapons this is inseparable—but exactly which military actions and tasks they are called upon to execute. And here the main difference consists in whether the thrust is placed on the first or second (retaliatory) strike, which to a large extent predetermines operational planning, targeting, and the quality and quantity characteristics of arms and their respective control systems.

The first-strike strategy cannot serve to restrain nuclear aggression since it itself presupposes the unleashing of a nuclear war. This is the same as trying to prevent a fire by holding a burning fuse next to a gas tank. Such a strategy will encourage a purposeful nuclear aggressor only to deliver a preemptive strike so as to ensure its impunity. If it cannot count on this owing to the high survivability of the opposing forces, then it will be deterred by retaliatory capability, not first-strike capability. The survivability of retaliation forces deters nuclear aggression.

In contrast to a nuclear attack, an attack with conventional forces can in principle be regarded as a threat which is deterred by the readiness for the first use of nuclear weapons. This underlay the NATO strategy in the Cold War years in the face of the USSR's superiority in conventional forces. The adoption of a similar concept by Russia is being justified today by a sharp weakening of its general purpose forces following the demise of the Warsaw Pact, the disintegration of the USSR, and the deep economic crisis.

Let us turn from theory to practice, however. Along the perimeter of the Russian border in the west and in the south, among the former Soviet republics there is none with which Russia would not cope by conventional

forces should (God forbid!) an armed conflict emerge. The same goes for the contiguous states of Eastern Europe and in the south, such as Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan, should they intervene in the confrontation. The use of nuclear weapons is inconceivable here either in the moral or in the political respect. Let alone the fact that in light of the Russian doctrine's propositions, all of them are signatories to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and, with the exception of Turkey and Norway, are not allied with the nuclear powers.

Theoretically only NATO in the west and also the United States with Japan and China in the east are capable of confronting Russia with superior conventional forces in potentially conflict-fraught regions. The threat of a first nuclear strike against the United States and its allies, however, would be inconsistent because they would retain objective preponderance also in nuclear forces—both strategic and theater. Nuclear initiative would be suicidal for Russia while a corresponding concept would be dangerous bluffing. (Incidentally, this is recognized in the new doctrine, which talks about the catastrophic consequences of a potential escalation following a limited use of nuclear weapons).

In this region, the basis of Russia's security may be not NATO's expansion toward the east or multilateral security guarantees to the states of Central and Eastern Europe which divide Russia and NATO by 1,500 km. A major role will be played by "strategic partnership" between Russia and NATO and the maintenance of strategic stability on the basis of mutual retaliatory capability within the framework of the START I and START II treaties with the United States, and the reduction of tactical nuclear and conventional arms. There is no way the concept of nuclear initiative can fit into Europe's military-political panorama, and it can only undermine Russia's security.

The same logic applies to the U.S.-Japanese union in the east, should the buildup of general purpose forces begin there, targeted against Russia. So far this potential is fairly limited and the allies are most concerned over North Korea.

That leaves us with China. But the fact is that it was the sole nuclear power which before the others accepted and still adheres to the obligation on the no first use of nuclear weapons. [sentence as published] If Beijing figures out that the turn in Russia's strategy is directed against it, it could follow suit. Especially given that the Chinese nuclear forces in the next 10 to 15 years will be far inferior to Russia's or the United States', and they will not have sufficient survivability for an assured retaliatory strike. In that event the probability of nuclear containment's failure in the Far East will grow considerably.

As for conventional forces, China may indeed obtain superiority over Russia in the Far East. But this will happen only if Russia supplies it with modern weapons and military technology (including advanced Su-27 and MiG-31 fighters, the famous S-300 missiles, technology for medium-range bombers, aircraft carriers, communication and missile targeting systems, and so forth). With the exception of Russia, no massed supplies can be expected from any other quarter: The United States is increasingly apprehensive over China's forced and incomprehensible military buildup; and Washington can exert pressure on France and other suppliers. Therefore in the Far East too, other ways of ensuring military security are needed. Reliance on the first use of nuclear weapons will hardly be able to help Moscow.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons and missile technology is capable of placing into the hands of a certain adventurist regime an instrument of blackmail against the great powers. The threat of a preemptive nuclear strike, however, may not restrain adventurers but in fact prod them toward a fatal step—after all, their aim is not to gain victory in a war but to provoke an escalation of a conflict (as was the case with the Iranian [as published] leader in the 1991 war). In any event, why should they be warned beforehand about possible actions?

In a wider sense of the word the probability of a first strike against "near-nuclear" countries and those that are not signatories to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty will be hardly conducive to nonproliferation. As a rule, such countries' motives are hostility with respect to a regional rival or considerations of prestige. If such a mighty power as Russia is strengthening its reliance on nuclear weapons, they will think, there is simply no way we can do without them.

The following argument is also used: The Soviet 1982 obligation was at best a mere declaration and it did not influence practice; furthermore, the United States and its allies did not assume analogous obligations. These arguments answer themselves: The West did not follow the USSR's initiative because it understood its purely rhetorical character. Moreover, Soviet superiority in conventional armed forces compelled a reliance on the first use of nuclear weapons concept as the basis of the United States' security guarantees for its allies. Yet Germany and Japan renounced the creation of their own nuclear weapons.

As a result of drastic changes in the early 1990's and deep cuts in nuclear and conventional arms in Europe, the United States and NATO in their strategy began to move visibly away from the concept of the first use of nuclear weapons, though displaying undue caution and conservatism here. It is not clear, however, why Russia should follow bad examples and move in the opposite direction. It would be more correct to encourage the West further to exclude the use of nuclear weapons.

As far as Russia is concerned, it seems that it is better to bring its military planning practice in line with the 1982 constructive declaration than to adjust the declaration back to the traditional practice. Especially since START II and the obligations on cutting tactical nuclear weapons presuppose precisely a greater thrust on retaliatory actions.

If the change in the nuclear concept is of a purely rhetorical character, then what is its political meaning and will it not be counterproductive to our long-term interests? If, on the other hand, the doctrine provides for a revision of the strategy, operational planning and arms programs, this may damage strategic stability and arms control, whose entire logic is inseparably linked with "eliminating incentives toward the first nuclear strike." This, incidentally, is stipulated in official documents signed by the United States and the Soviet Union, whose legal successor with respect to nuclear responsibility Russia has declared itself.

## Naval Defenses Designers Receive Foreign 'Invitations'

*PM0212151793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 93 First Edition p 6*

[Report by Viktor Litovkin under the "Russia's New Weapons" rubric: "There Is No Escape From an Underwater Missile"]

[Text] Ask any sailor what weapon he fears most, and he, without thinking, will answer—mines.

Most of the 400 transports and combatant ships sunk by our sailors in the years of the Great Patriotic War were blown up by mines. During the recent fighting in the Persian Gulf the coalition's mighty forces simply could not land an assault force on Iraq's southern coastline because of mine fields laid by Iraq at the mouth of the Shatt al-'Arab. From a 1904 war to this very day the geographical maps used by navigators all over the world have carried notices saying: "Do Not Lower Trawl Nets. Do Not Drop Anchor. Danger—Mines."

"Mines have always been the cheapest and most effective form of naval weapon, and remain so," so says Aleksandr Zakharchenko, director of St. Petersburg's "Gidropribor" Central Scientific Research Institute, which develops and creates mines and torpedoes and also systems to combat them—the only institute of its kind in Russia. "Like permanent sentries, they can close off any strait or gulf, even whole seas for a year or for longer; once mined, no one will venture there."

But the greatest danger is presented not by individual mines—they operate at a distance of up to 30 meters from a ship—but by mine-torpedo or mine-missile complexes, whose radius of operation is around 1.5 km. They are called the PMK-1 (ASW mine complex) and the MShM (Sea Shelf Mine).

Gadgetry of this kind can, for example, be anchored in the entrance to a naval base to monitor passing ships. It analyzes hydrodynamic, electromagnetic, and acoustic levels (every type of marine vessel has strictly individual levels) and takes another couple of dozen readings of various kinds, evaluates them using an integral computer (the whole operation takes no more than 25 seconds), and if, God forbid, an uninvited interloper has entered the basin it fires a torpedo or missile.

No one can evade it, according to the institute's specialists. The missile travels at the fantastic speed through water of 150 meters per second. Over 1.5 km this means 10 instants between life and death. To think, to take any kind of defensive measure—complete an antimissile maneuver or launch a decoy—even on hearing the launch of such a missile is impossible. There is simply no time.

Aleksandr Zakharchenko told me that during tests of the complex on a lake testing site the super-high-speed missile, even without the aid of a warhead, by the force of its dynamic thrust alone smashed cutters and small boats to smithereens, and in the sea it actually ripped out the bottom of large transports and sank them. With its warhead, equivalent to 300 kg of TNT, it can sink any submarine.

Bearing in mind that a nuclear submarine costs somewhere in the order of $1 billion, while a mine-missile complex is about 1,000 times cheaper, it is clear what a terrible, dangerous, and highly effective weapon this is.

Only Russia has these weapons, the "Gidropribor" Central Scientific Research Institute director told me. Moreover, they are made in such a way that, if so desired, they can be fired from a submarine torpedo tube—the diameter of the complex is 534 mm, which corresponds to the caliber of most torpedoes; they can be dropped like depth charges from tracks or stern chutes on surface ships; or they can be dropped from aircraft.

The weight of both kinds of complex is 1,850 kg, the length 783 cm, so that both submarines and amphibious aircraft can carry them on alert duty.

Curiously, under the conversion program the "Gidropribor" Central Scientific Research Institute has developed and built automatic water environment monitoring stations based on these mine-torpedo and missile complexes. They are called ASK-300, and can be established for a period of up to three years and at a depth of up to 300 meters; they can transmit via radio channel or satellite up to 27 hydrological and ecological parameters, including data on the presence in a column of water of concentrations of heavy or radioactive metals. A modern foreign underwater station—for example, Norway's—gathers data on six indicators.

In addition, "Gidropribor" makes unique submarine apparatus under the name of "Yantar" for the study of the ocean floor, capable of working at a depth of 6,000 meters.

True, the St. Petersburg Central Scientific Research Institute has not yet received any orders for its conversion output. And it is not a question of its potential partners being unfamiliar with it: Everything is in order here, and specialists have heard all about the institute, but they do not have the money to buy. Even the Ministry of Defense—the main consumer of "Gidropribor's" products—is not paying its bills as things stand.

A debt of 4.5 billion rubles is not crippling for the military, but the institute has no funds to pay wages or to pay the city for fuel and electricity.

"The central heating plant will cut us off for unpaid bills," Zakharchenko says, "and we will die out like the woolly mammoth."

The director of the Central Scientific Research Institute, by education a hydro- and aerodynamic physicist, began his career at the Leningrad Optical Mechanics Association, where he handled large telescopes, but he soon moved to "Gidropribor" and presented his dissertation on mine-torpedo weapons. He has a plan to save the only institute of its kind in the country; in his briefcase are proposals on joint projects from Western investors and partners; but this requires time.

Mines and mine-torpedo and missile complexes are often called "weapons lying in wait." But the people who make them cannot wait indefinitely for their future to be decided. They have long been receiving persistent invitations from various countries. From China to the the United States. I was persuaded that no one has gone. Yet.

## Shokhin: Cryogenic Missile Technology Not for Export

*LD0212224193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1804 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Russia will refrain from supplying the technology for producing cryogenic missile boosters to India thus cutting away at 80

of the 1991 Indian deal's value, Russian Vice Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin told INTERFAX on Wednesday.

He said the supply of the boosters will continue, while the technology will not be handed over. Shokhin pointed out that India was buying missile technologies rather that cryogenic boosters themselves.

The contract stipulated that Russia was to supply two boosters each worth about $6 million to India. The first booster was to be delivered in 1995. After the contract is amended, the contract's value earlier estimated at $220 million may be slashed by over 80%, according to the Russian Space Agency.

The new terms will be formulated in a stricter accordance with the requirements of the Missile Technology Control Regime. Russia signed a memorandum on its intention to observe its provisions in Washington on September 2 this year. The memorandum demands the necessary amendments should be made to the contracts running counter to the regime before January 1 1994.

## Reserve Officers Hold Conference in Moscow

*LD0712095093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0751 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—Russia's reserve officers meet in Moscow for the second time to discuss the role of the officers' corps in Russian reforms. Three hundred reserve officers from more than 55 regions of the Russian Federation will consider the process of economic reforms in Russia and establish an economic society of military servicemen.

The meeting was initiated by Russia's Choice, the movement "The Military for Democracy", the Association of Independent Military Experts, the Association of Farmers-Former Officers, the Union for the Protection of Servicemen and their Families. Entrepreneurs, who used to service with the Army, and administrators are also taking part in the conference.

The idea underlying the gathering is that time has come to bring together reserve officers who support Russia's progressive development and radical economic reforms and those who are planning to retire from the armed forces, chairman of the organizing committee Andrey Goptar told ITAR-TASS. He said the conference is being attended by former officers, 153 of whom now head private and public enterprises and firms, 68 are farmers, 42 are civil servants or employees of state enterprises and 37 officials of public organisations.

According to Goptar, the continuous release of officers from the armed forces and their adaptation to civilian life are posing ever new problems in conditions of economic reforms and reduction of state support. Nearly 500 thousand officers have retired from the armed forces in the past five years for a number of reasons. About 40 per cent of them are now running their own businesses, more than five per cent have become farmers and agricultural entrepreneurs. With another 100 thousand officers joining the reserve soon, their total number will reach more than three million people. Many among them are already looking for ways to pool efforts and jointly look for ways of boosting their own businesses.

The economic society of servicemen is scheduled to be established on December 8. The new public organisation aims to pool the practical efforts of former officers, business people, entrepreneurs, farmers, artists and other citizens in support of the reforms being implemented by the Russian Government.

## New Laws Seen Needed as Crime in Military Climbs

*MK0312130093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 2*

[Report by Ilya Kanestri under the "Law" rubric: "Military Courts Await New Legislation While Men in Shoulder Boards Increasingly Violate Law"]

[Text] A press conference devoted to the activities of Russian Federation military courts in modern conditions was held at the Russian Federation Justice Ministry yesterday.

Today, military courts (former military tribunals) are part of Russia's judicial system and are guided by unified Russian legislation. Aside from court cases, military courts are increasingly involved with safeguarding the rights and legitimate interests of servicemen and their family members. Military courts have also started to look into servicemen's complaints about illegal actions by military officials and organs of military administration: 649 such complaints were investigated by military courts over the first nine months of this year.

Colonel General of Justice Anatoliy Muranov, chief of the Military Courts Directorate and Russian Federation deputy justice minister, pointed out that servicemen are increasingly being found to have violated laws. One of the main causes is the sharp decline of the material position of Russian servicemen as well as changes in the call-up contingent.

Military courts examined 9,933 criminal and 550 civil cases over the first nine months of this year. The total number of those convicted is 13,000. Also, 492 complaints were resolved about wrongful arrest by preliminary investigation bodies and about violations of the established duration of remand in custody, as well as 1,974 applications for early conditional release of persons serving time in disciplinary units.

The main problem facing Russian military courts is the lack of legislation on military courts measuring up to modern conditions. This question was repeatedly raised at sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and later of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, but it was never resolved. This problem is a major brake on reforming the military judicial system, which operates in complicated conditions of large-scale socioeconomic transformations in the country and reform of its armed forces.

## Space Cooperation With U.S. Termed 'Destructive'

*947Q0034A Moscow DELOVOY MIR in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 4*

[Article by Vladimir Yaropolov, doctor of technical sciences, deputy chief of administration of the Yu.A. Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center: "Will We Mess Up Cosmonautics As Well?"]

[Text] **Negotiations are currently under way between Russia and the United States on cooperation in the field of space. It provides, inter alia, for the joint creation of an orbital space station. It is proposed that almost all the main components of the space station (the base girder design, the living quarters, and the research and power modules) would be produced by the Americans and that the American reusable space shuttle, which cannot be guided into orbit at an inclination of more than 57 degrees, would be the sole transportation system for constructing the station and conveying the crews between the station and Earth. Russia has been forced to abandon the previously planned orbit of the Mir-2 station at an inclination of 64.8 degrees; as a result, the inclination of 51.6 degrees selected for the future joint station will permit observation only of 5 percent of Russian territory.**

A proposal calls for beginning the construction of station with the launch into orbit of a Russian base unit and equipping it with our docking module and our solar-powered gas-dynamic power installation—construction of the station is possible only after these steps have been taken. Therefore, Russia will create the space infrastructure for the United States, which America lacks, which will open the way for the United States to construct its own station. Afterwards, Russia, the sole power with experience in constructing and operating orbiting space stations, will become excluded from the U.S. plans. Because the crews will be transported aboard the space shuttle, the cosmonauts' training also will pass fully into the hands of the United States; consequently, all flight programs will be under its jurisdiction.

Because of this situation, we will be deprived of the optimization of designs and new on-board systems for unmanned spacecraft in the defense and economic fields, work that was previously performed on board the stations. As I have said, the territory of Russia will barely be visible, which will be detrimental to studying natural resources, monitoring the environment, controlling emergencies, and so forth. Many of our space industry enterprises will be deprived of orders for the development and manufacture of equipment, and the Yu.A. Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center could be closed for lack of use.

Such cooperation with the United States would also cause irreparable damage to Russia's cooperation with Europe, which envisaged the joint creation of an orbiting station and a reusable aviation-space system. Now this program will have to be eliminated completely. Compared with the American version of cooperation, in which all countries go begging to the United States, the European version contemplates parity in the creation of the station; that is, Europe does not fund firms of Russia but participates in the station's systems with its own firms and technology. Europe has also tended to train its cosmonauts at the Russian facilities, which have operated successfully for several years, and Russia has earned foreign currency from this, which is an added benefit.

However, following the conclusion of the agreement with the United States, the work begun with the European Space Agency in the interests of the future Mir-2 station will become unnecessary. The European Space Agency has terminated the financing of a number of operations in connection with the uncertainty of the situation created by the negotiations between Russia and the United States.

It should be observed that the United States is engaged in a well-conceived program to "extract" our experience of orbital station flights. Take, for example, the planned three-month flight of an American astronaut on the Mir station with post-flight medical research at the Johnson Space Center, and the further three six-month-long flights, which have already been preliminarily agreed. As a result, the entire technology of preparing and carrying out long flights on orbital stations, technology that the United States lacks, will be studied, and the Americans will gain experience of operating the orbital station, obtain data on the process of human adaptation to weightlessness on a long space flight, and assimilate the methods of preventing unfavorable effects on humans and readapting humans to terrestrial conditions. The very experience of creating a station of this type, which the United States does not at this time possess (it is, moreover, experiencing great difficulties in the design of its Freedom station), will be passed on in the process of the joint work.

As a result, Russia will be left without a station, without cosmonaut training, with devastated production and shattered space infrastructures, and without cooperation with Europe. For the $800 million that the United States invests in this "cooperation," it will acquire know-how in which Russia has invested tens of billions of rubles, when the ruble was practically the equivalent of the dollar.

Operation of the station as an international station presupposes the shared allocation to each participating country of effective time in accordance with its contribution to its creation. Considering that Russia's share will amount to $800 million (of others' money), that the United States has already spent $9 billion on creating the station, and that American specialists estimate that $30-$40 billion will be required altogether, the amount of effective time allotted Russia could be no more than 2-3 percent. In addition, because Russia has guaranteed flights for French astronauts on the Russian orbital station up to the year 2000 and will now be forced to grant the French flight time on the international station at Russia's expense, even the negligible 2-3 percent will be in jeopardy. Will we be able to fly on this station at all?

Such "cooperation" is not simply disadvantageous, it is destructive for Russian cosmonautics.

### Cosmonauts Continue Work Aboard Mir Space Station

*LD0312163293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1351 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Mission Control Centre (Moscow Region) December 3 TASS—Vassiliy Tsibliyev and Aleksandr Serebrov, hurtling around the Earth aboard the Mir space station, devoted the second half of the workweek to experiments with space materials as well as to geophysical and astrophysical investigations.

Using the kristallizator installation, they grew a monocrystal of bismuth-antimony-tellurium alloy and experimented to study peculiar features of melting and crystallising special types of glass in the conditions of microgravitation.

Under the programme for investigations of the Earth's natural resources and environmental studies, the cosmonauts carried out several series of video filming and spectrometering of various regions of land and the world ocean.

They continued experiments with instruments installed outside the station. Their task is to get information on intensity of space radiation, flows of micrometeorites and the radiation situation in near-earth space.

The crew will fulfill another series of geophysical explorations on Friday and prepare the gallar electric heating oven for further work on space material science.

According to reports from the station and telemetering information, the flight aboard the Mir complex continues smoothly.

## Regional Affairs

### Yeltsin Arrives in Vladikavkaz, Seeks To End Conflict

*LD0612202893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1628 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; reports prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] On Monday Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived in Vladikavkaz, the North Ossetian capital, to fly by helicopter to the village of Chermen, where he will attend a meeting of the reconciliation commission tackling the Ossetian-Ingush dispute.

The president told reporters at Vladikavkaz Airport that he had come to hear all sides and develop his own impression of the situation. "Ethnic conflicts are intertwined here with territorial disputes. Extremism is also a cause of concern. I think that we should look together for a solution to the protracted conflict," he said. The president said that he did not have any plans worked out, but hoped that discussion would lead to them. He also noted that he was not sure that a final solution could be found immediately.

Sergey Shakhray told Interfax that the overriding objective was to convince Aushev and Galazov "to take the step to meet each other. (North) Ossetia should give up the view that the two peoples cannot live together and Ingushetia should give up its territorial claims." If this is done, refugees could start returning to their homes in December, Shakhray said.

Akhsarbek Galazov told Interfax that he was not sure that the president's arrival would immediately resolve all problems, but it would certainly help the country's top leadership see the existing problems in all their complexity. He also emphasized that North Caucasian problems could not be separated from those of the entire Caucasus, but should be considered together with what is going on in Transcaucasia, in Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia. "I believe," he continued, "that the arrival of the president is at least a step towards having a better insight into the problems."

In his view, the overriding priority is to prevent a civil war in the North Caucasus which, he believes, is very likely. A superficial approach to North Caucasian problems could result in an explosion throughout Russia's south and, ultimately, all of Russia.

For his part, Ingush President Ruslan Aushev expressed hope that the main problems could be resolved during the Russian president's stay in the area. He emphasized that in Russia, Yeltsin was a guarantor of all rights and it was the president's constitutional duty to make a decision which would reconcile the peoples involved in the conflict and resolve the problems that had resulted from the conflict. He, too, believes that North Caucasian problems cannot be separated from those of the entire Caucasus. He said that the Ingush authorities had a plan which would be submitted to Yeltsin.

The president and Security Council members are seriously concerned about the regional situation emerging after the conflict between North Ossetia and Ingushetia, Deputy Council Secretary Valeriy Manilov told Interfax. "A large number of resolutions designed to defuse regional tensions have not been implemented," he said.

Manilov said that now is the time for the warring sides to stretch out hands for peace and work together with other peoples in the region to try to put an end to nationalism and extremism.

"The president wants very much to see that a strategically important region such as the Northern Caucasus, which is the homeland of some 50 ethnic groups, sets an example of how to constructively resolve the most difficult and critical issues. For this to happen, civic and personal courage is needed not only on the part of the president, but of all parties in the conflict," Manilov said.

He expressed regret that there should be a lack of compromise by the leaders of the two republics.

Manilov said the two sides appeared to be confident about being able to resolve their dispute by force. He described a military option as hopeless. The Security Council official accused the two sides of trying to lay all the blame on the federal government in the belief that all of the trouble must be handled by Moscow. Manilov said such a situation was absolutely absurd, because it keeps the republics from using their own potential. In addition, he said that all of the federal aid and assistance allotted cannot be utilized because of the obstinacy of the leaders of both sides.

Manilov accused Chechnya of being a huge catalyst of regional crime. He said that almost all trainloads of aid passing through Chechnya were being looted. "The authorities of Chechnya are either incapable or unwilling to ensure the safety of rail traffic. Like an epidemic, this sense of impunity is spreading all over the North Caucasus, raising great concern in Moscow," Manilov said.

Upon his arrival in Vladikavkaz on Monday, Yeltsin met briefly with Parliamentary Chairman of North Ossetia Akhsarbek Galazov and President of Ingushetia Ruslan Aushev. It is now known that the problem of refugees forced to flee their homes after last year's conflict between North Ossetia and Ingushetia dominated the agenda of the behind-the-scenes meeting.

Later, Yeltsin and the two regional leaders flew aboard a helicopter over the troubled region and visited the village of Chermen outside Vladikavkaz. Chermen was the venue of a meeting of the conciliatory commissions from the Prigorodnyy region, where members of the Ossetian and Ingush communities had lived side by side before the conflict broke out last year.

Yeltsin next flew back to Vladikavkaz, where the conciliatory commission of Russia and the two republics held a full meeting.

On the same day the Russian leader, accompanied by Galazov and Aushev, arrived in Nalchik, the capital of Kabardino-Balkaria, which will be the venue of a regional conference on Tuesday to discuss how to defuse the conflict between North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

The forum, expected to last an hour and a half, will also be attended by chiefs of the federal and regional departments of police, security, and armed forces.

## Further on Yeltsin Visit

*PM0612165193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1, 2*

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Boris Yeltsin Tries To Persuade Caucasus Not To Fight"]

[Excerpts] Vladikavkaz—Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin arrived in Vladikavkaz 6 December. Power ministers, the chairman of the State Committee for Federation and Nationality Affairs, the Security Council secretary, the Internal Troops commander, and a multitude of experts and bodyguards, including antiterrorist groups armed to the teeth, converged on the North Ossetian capital as if according to the scenario of command and staff exercises. All quite natural: The president's program during the trip envisages a visit to the state of emergency zone, which makes the president's trip not entirely safe.

It has been learned on good authority that the decision to visit the North Caucasus was adopted at a Security Council session which took place in the last 10 days of November. IZVESTIYA has already reported that the Security Council members expressed alarm over the failure of the organs of authority and administration in the state of emergency zone to implement Moscow's decisions designed to reduce social tension in this area. [passage omitted].

On arriving in Vladikavkaz Yeltsin stated that, although he had brought no instant remedies from Moscow, he hoped to find an opportunity to resolve the conflict—both interethnic and territorial—with leaders of North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

S. Shakhray later explained to IZVESTIYA's correspondent that R. Aushev and A. Galazov need help to make a move toward each other, even if only a single step. North Ossetia should abandon the thesis of the impossibility of coexistence with the Ingush, while Ingushetia should abandon territorial claims. This would, according to the chairman of the State Committee for Federation and Nationality Affairs, make it possible to start returning refugees as early as this year to their former places of residence according to the schedule of the Kislovodsk agreement.

For his part Aushev hoped that the president, having seen on the spot the situation under the state of emergency, would substantially alter his views. The Ingush president did not specify in which direction.

### N. Ossetia Premier on Refugees

*LD0612152293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Prime Minister of North Ossetia, Sergey Khetagurov, has warned against "rushing" a decision on the return of Ingush refugees to their homes in the republic. He spoke in an interview with INTERFAX at the end of Yeltsin's discussions with the leaders of the two warring republics in and outside Vladikavkaz on Monday.

The prime minister said Yeltsin was planning to issue a decree on resettling the refugees in the four disputed areas before next spring. Khetagurov said the Russian leader was ready to order his defense and interior ministers to ensure the safety of returning refugees by nothing short of putting up defenses along the perimeter of those regions. The prime minister said such a decision would only worsen the dispute between the two republics.

Khetagurov went on to say that public representatives of the Ossetian and Ingush communities had begun discussion on how to bring back the refugees with the interim regional administrator acting as mediator. In his words, none of the North Ossetian leaders would object if the commission agrees on the need for resettling the refugees.

But any attempt to try to return them forcibly is impossible and will only lead to renewed fighting, Khetagurov said. He said North Ossetia would try to dissuade Yeltsin from rushing a decision on the return of refugees to specific regions of the republic.

Khetagurov said the discussion of the refugee problem in Vladikavkaz was too brief, an indication of how compounded it was.

He expressed regret that some of the issues North Ossetia wanted to raise had not been discussed.

### Official on Need for Goodwill

*LD0612152193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] The Russian president may soon sign a decree on resettling Ingush refugees in four North Ossetian communities, Vyacheslav Kostikov, the president's press secretary, said following the Monday conference that Boris Yeltsin held with top officials of North Ossetia and Ingushetia in the village of Chermen, North Ossetia.

The Interior Ministry and the army will probably have to pull their weight to make the resettlement possible, Kostikov said. "Peace cannot be expected to return to this land immediately after Boris Yeltsin attends to the matter," he emphasized.

In his words, neither the North Ossetian nor Ingush officials showed awareness of the need to resolve their conflict speedily and in a profound way. "Their goodwill should be stimulated," the press secretary said and added that one of the aims of Yeltsin's visit to the area was to do just that.

### Discussion of Refugees

*LD0712035593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2027 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin held closed negotiations with the North Ossetian and Ingush leaders in the residence of the Kabardino-Balkarian president near Nalchik on Monday afternoon. Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, Interior Minister Viktor Yerin, Security Minister Nikolay Golushko and Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray also participated in the negotiations.

There has been no official information on their results. According to observers, the Russian president's initiative to bring back, under the protection of the Russian Interior and Defense Ministries, Ingush refugees who had fled from the conflict area to four population centers of the North Ossetian Prigorodny Region, was discussed at the negotiations.

The leaders of the Northern Caucasian republics and regions are also coming to Nalchik. A meeting to discuss settlement in the region, the return of refugees and disarmament of illegal military units will be held there by Yeltsin and the region's leaders on the morning of December 7. The Russian president is to leave for Moscow on the same day at approximately 10:45.

### Yeltsin on Ossetian-Ingush 'Understanding'

*LD0712070593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0630 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[Text] We begin this bulletin with an urgent report by our correspondent, Pavel Guskov from Nalchik where a meeting attended by Boris Yeltsin has just opened.

[Guskov] Good morning! The meeting began 16 minutes ago with a very important and encouraging statement by Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. After speaking about yesterday, when he visited the settlement of Chermen, one of the four settlements to which Ingush refugees will return, the president said that mutual understanding between the leaders of the Ingush republic and North Ossetia had been achieved. He said that Ruslan Aushev and Akhsarbek Galazov had shaken hands and that was an encouraging feature.

The president made an important announcement by saying that the day after the nationwide referendum and the elections to the Federal Assembly—in other words, on 13 December—a decree of the Russian president on the issue of a settlement of this long, drawn out, and tragic conflict will be published.

The meeting is currently continuing. We will report details later. This is Pavel Guskov, Mayak, from Nalchik.

### Statement on Accord Issued by Caucasus Meeting

*LD0712102193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0949 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Gennadiy Kipkeyev, Nikolay Styazhkin, and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Nalchik November 12 [date as received] TASS—The promotion of democratic processes, the solution of problems linked with the phased constitutional reform, and integrity of the Russian Federation largely depend on the overall situation in the Northern Caucasus and in Transcaucasia, says a statement, signed by all the participants of a meeting called here today by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"The Ossetian-Ingush conflict, which has claimed many hundreds of human lives, the unclear status of the Chechen Republic, the forced migration of people, the huge amounts of firearms possessed by extremists, as well as the current grave criminogenic situation in the region are not only a terrible misfortune for Russian citizens, but proof of the weakness of the federal and local authorities, and paralysis of the existing laws," the statement stresses.

Proceeding from the need to safeguard the integrity of the Russian Federation, the meeting has called on the peoples of the Northern Caucasus to actively participate in the December 12 elections and to vote for the new constitution, which guarantees national unity and concord.

The statement notes among the ways to stabilise the socio- political and economic situation in the Northern Caucasus the need to settle the Ossetian-Ingush conflict once and for all on the basis of reconciliation, the Ingush side's renunciation of territorial claims to a part of the Prigorodnyy district of North Ossetia, annulment by the Ossetian side of its decision that the Ingushs and Ossetians should not live side-by-side, and the return of refugees to place of their former habitation in keeping with the Kislovodsk agreements.

### Yeltsin on Importance of New Constitution

*LD0712111693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[Text] All North Caucasusian leaders who attended the conference in Nalchik have supported the draft Russian Constitution, Interfax reports citing Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary of the Russian president.

In his words, Boris Yeltsin told the sitting that if a constitution was not adopted on 12 December, the country might face another dangerous spiral of instability. Without mentioning any names, the Russian president criticized the position taken by some regional leaders who speak against the draft Basic Law. He said that the adoption of the constitution would prevent a split in the country and that the president and the government were prepared to act in a very tough manner with regard to this issue.

### Dudayev Criticizes Draft Constitution

*LD0612215793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1745 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Chechen President Dzhokar Dudayev, not recognized by Moscow, has called the draft constitution "a concentration camp charter for small nationalities." Speaking at the Extraordinary Congress of the Caucasian Peoples' Confederation in Groznyy he emphasized that the constitution could threaten the nationalities' freedom and that it was aimed at strengthening "the Russian totalitarian regime with a democratic facade."

Dudayev pointed out that the Caucasian peoples could escape "the new Russian invasion" only through their unity. "The Caucasus is to choose between freedom and a new slavery. It is necessary to be united to save itself from that slavery," he said.

### Tuva Denies Plans To Secede From Federation

*LD0712082793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0758 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Sobetskiy]

[Text] Kyzyl December 7 TASS—The press service of the president and parliament of the Tuva Autonomous Republic made a statement on Tuesday, saying that recent reports by Russian television and radio company

alleging that a referendum on Tuva's secession from Russia will be held in Tuva in the first half of 1994 do not conform to reality.

It was pointed out in the statement that the misinformation about Tuva was regrettably broadca.. by Russian television at the time when political tension in the country was flaring up.

In this connection, the press service of Tuva's president protested against the move and demanded denial of false reports about the situation in the region.

Tuva's parliament and government reserve the right to claim damages in court for material and moral damage caused to the republic, the statement said.

## Mari El President on Economy, Politics

*PM0612143193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 93 First Edition p 5*

[Boris Bronshteyn report: "In the Bear's Den, or Just Mari El"]

[Text] Yoshkar-Ola—An Italian has recounted that, before visiting the Republic of Mari El, he tried to pinpoint where it is. His question unexpectedly nonplussed Russian consulate staffers, who were simply unable to recall the republic's location. Quite extraordinary, of course. But let us show a little indulgence—Russia is great and Mari El is small.

### Acres of Wooden Rubles

The Mari Republic, which has a population of only 760,000, has its own trappings of statehood—a flag, coat of arms, and national anthem.

"But we do not have anything else," republic President Vladislav Zotin says frankly, and, sighing, repeats: "Nothing else. Economically we are totally dependent on Russia's budget. If we were granted full autonomy in budget affairs today we would turn into paupers."

There's a thing for you! What about the famous Mari timber? After all, it is green currency. In the last resort it is good wooden rubles.

"We have about as much timber left as a bald man has hair," the president sighs again. "It is clearly visible from a helicopter. Whereas we previously cut 5 million cubic meters a year we now cut 1 million or so."

The president, although he cited a couple of figures, still relied more on imagery. So how big is this "bald patch"? It turns out that scientists have estimated that within a short historical period (150 years is a short period of time to scientists) forests will be razed over an area of almost 1 million hectares. Yes, it looks like the Mari are literally cutting the bough on which they are sitting.

Yet there is still enough timber, and some benefit can be derived from it quite easily. Enterprising people never miss an opportunity, including wooden chopsticks, which the Mari have started manufacturing jointly with the Chinese. Processing 20 cubic meters of birch per shift, the "Mari-Changbai" enterprise is laying the tables not only of the Chinese but also of the Vietnamese, Japanese, and Indonesians. As the saying goes, chopsticks are dear when lunchtime is near.

As Mari El's national resource, timber is in danger of being destroyed and plundered by both a kind of voracious leaf roller moth, which is voraciously devouring oaks and limes, and man. Mari foresters believe that they can do nothing in the forest without weapons. Poachers are brazenly going into the forest in trucks and confidently putting their axes to work. After all, felling trees is a gift of the forest, and trees are being carted off in the most barbaric way. For example, before the cranberry season begins forests have to be patrolled with a helicopter, otherwise a horde of people with baskets will not let the cranberries ripen. People carry away as much as they can from the forest, yet if you ask anyone whether the environment should be conserved everyone is in favor. If you put the question to a vote there would be a forest of hands.

### An Australian Doctor's Remedies

How exactly does Mari El intend to fend off the poverty approaching it?

"Timber processing," President Zotin starts counting on his fingers, "agricultural raw material processing, conversion processes, and mineral prospecting. We intend to have our own oil, we are constantly looking for it."

Vladislav Maksimovich did not mention tourism, on which certain republic businessmen are counting, although the republic has excellent hunting grounds, lakes, and Volga beaches.

"We cannot seriously count on this," the president explains. "We do not have the necessary service base. We do not even have decent hotels, even in Yoshkar-Ola."

Decent hotels are badly needed if only because an increasing number of foreigners have visited the republic in recent years. Finns, for example, have supplied the Mari with textbook printing paper on preferential terms, Canadians have exported medicines, and the Italians, who have concluded contracts with several local enterprises, staged a "Miss Mari El" contest in a spare moment. Provided, of course, that the beautiful girls subsequently visit Italy.

But maybe the most desirable foreigner to have visited Mari El is Donald Johnson, an Australian doctor of economics. He offered the republic a comprehensive program to organize a somewhat unconventional market economy. Dr. Johnson has taken 10 years to dream up his concept and people say that the pope himself has given his blessing to his ideas, which combine the concepts of the market and of fairness. In that case what

else can the Mari Government do? It has not just given its blessing but has already called this economic program "historic."

It is hard to say whether someone can be taught market economics without great risk, but Dr. Johnson is staking both big money (the sum of $15 million has been mentioned) and his reputation. I hope this does not turn out the same way as it did for Odygan, hero of a Mari legend who put a chicken's egg on his head when teaching his son archery. The son, of course, took careful aim at the egg but his hands shook and.... Well, you can guess how the story ends. Evidently the upshot is the same: When entering the market we must try to stop our hands shaking.

### "Only a Madman Could Talk About Separating From Russia"

There is a national omen: If a chicken sheds its feathers in early fall there will be a mild winter. It is not known whether anyone monitored chicken feather shedding this fall, but judging from certain other omens the republic will have a mild winter. At least in the political sense.

Yes, political life in the republic is predictable and Mari El leaders are even proud of this, believing that they are doing a considerable amount for predictability. When asked whether the December elections would take place in the republic, President Zotin replied:

"Of course they will. Nearer to the elections I intend to appeal to the voters. Let them come and choose those they consider worthy."

The republic will hold elections to the hastily reformed local organs of authority simultaneously with elections to the Federal Assembly. The Supreme Soviet will now be replaced here by the Kugyzhanysh Pogyn [name as transliterated]—the State Assembly. Corresponding city and rayon assemblies will be elected. There are more than enough people who want to enter the representative organs. Judging from their campaign declarations all the candidates love the people and are jealous of their attachment to other candidates.

Mari El has no strong political parties capable of influencing the situation. Some people believe that this is a good thing. It is more peaceful here than in many other regions, where there are so many parties that it makes you want to sign up for just one thing—geological survey work—and go off into the taiga so as to avoid other people.

From time to time the inhabitants are, in truth, reminded of tenacious communists. Thus, on 7 October, a day of mourning for those who died in Moscow, a local newspaper informed readers most inopportunely: Such a party does exist! Under this immortal headline there was an item about the Russian Federation Communist Party, whose city committee has, to the joy of inhabitants of the Mari El city of Volzhska, found itself premises and is already writing leaflets.

The national movement in the Mari Republic also looks quite moderate. Prof. Ivan Ivanov, chairman of the Board of the "Mariy ushem" organization, considers the main point of the program to be to revive the Mari people's culture and language. "Mariy ushem" has no far-reaching intentions like achieving full independence or separating from Russia. This organization agrees with the president, who, when the subject of sovereignty crops up, asks that Mariy El not be put in the same category as Tatarstan and Bashkortostan.

"The extent of our desires varies," President Zotin says. "We have a quiet, normal desire to solve our own problems. In doing so we bear in mind that we are living in a unified state which must have a unified budget and tax system. The system of legislative and executive power must also be unified. Here only a madman could declare separation from Russia."

That is understandable as regards sovereignty. As for culture and language, a lot of trouble lies ahead. Under the formal bilingualism the Mari language is used less than Russian. Few books are printed in Mari.

Given the book printing difficulties, researchers into ancient Mari history freely expound their views in newspapers. Many curious things can be read here. For example, that Moscow took its name from the Mari word maskava (she-bear) and the Volga from the word volgydo (unclouded). Well, let us say that is right. Let the anxious bear not press its paw too hard on the Republic of Mari El and let life in it be unclouded, like the Volga of old. Well, touch wood while it is still not too difficult to find wood in Mari El.

## Sobckak on Hopes for Rebuilding St. Petersburg

*AU0712081793 Paris AFP in English 0227 GMT 7 Dec 93*

[By Alexandra Troubnikoff]

[Excerpts] St. Petersburg, Russia, Dec 7 (AFP)—Anatoly Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg and one-time "hero" of the democracy struggle is fighting an uphill battle to get into parliament as his high-flying style of life takes its toll of his popularity.

Since taking office 30 months ago Sobchak, a former jurist, has seen his popularity slide from 75 percent to 25 percent in a city struggling to cope with the impact of economic reforms and the difficult conversion of its arms industry.

Many inhabitants of Russia's second city accuse their mayor of being corrupt and criticise his constant travelling, ostentatious high living and the champagne cocktails where he is often seen with his wife decked out in all her finery. [passage omitted]

The mayor who is campaigning on a Movement of Democratic Reforms ticket, remains optimistic about his chances of election on December 12.

"As mayor, I am blamed for the difficulties of ordinary Russians and that is understandable. But it is no reason to give up rebuilding St. Petersburg," he told AFP.

"It is time Anatoly Sobchak took his place in Moscow," said one of his supporters, journalist Andrei Chernov. "Today, the mayor is gambling his future," he said. [passage omitted]

However Kesselmann, an expert at the St. Petersburg sociology centre, said he regretted that Sobchak who was among the first campaigners for more democracy in the Soviet era, had "surrounded himself with humdrum lackeys."

To give his lacklustre campaign some sparkle, Sobchak brought along some Russian pop stars for his last meeting on Sunday which was billed as a "special concert".

The 10,000 people who turned up probably came more for the music than to listen to Sobchak's electioneering on the "renaissance of Russian man suffocated during the Soviet era".

"We are a party made up of celebrities; self-made men who want law and order and a better life for the people of our great nation," Sobchak told his audience, apparently hoping to benefit from the popularity of some of the others on his list, including renowned opthalmologist Stanislav Fyodorov. [passage omitted]

## Kaliningrad Administration Head on Special Status

*WS0612140093 Kaliningrad KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 93 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Kaliningrad Oblast Administration head Yuriy Matochkin by N. Borovskaya under the "Once a Month With Y. Matochkin" rubric; place and date not given: "There Is Always Some Room for Politics in Life and for Options in Politics"]

[Excerpts] [Borovskaya] **Some politician participating in the preelection marathon has said recently that 1993 has been the year of politics rather than the economy. What is your personal view on this? Did the administration have time to do business, or did it spend this time "extinguishing" all possible political clashes?**

[Matochkin] I would like to expand this question—what has our administration achieved over its two years in office? I wish our people understood us or even sympathized with us. Most probably, we have not had a more difficult period since the civil war and the restoration of the economy. We had to resolve issues that no government has ever settled.

Since last year's task was to survive, we did this. The goal for this year was survival and a slight development, so that some economic indicators exceeded those of last year. We have really achieved something. Next year, we must increase the speed. Our goal is stabilization and development.

Stores have been filled with goods. It is bad that not all people are able to buy them, and that not everything is available. However, the trade turnover in comparable prices has grown by 30 percent against last year. This means that people are buying goods.

What else? The rate of inflation has slowed down in the oblast, that is, prices here have grown slower than in other regions. Isn't this an achievement?

We are thinking about next year now. We plan to introduce regional orders in industry (by the way, there has been practically no drop in production in the fourth quarter of this year) to retain the necessary minimum amount of goods within the framework of our budget and financial possibilities.

We will also introduce the system of regional orders in the agricultural sector. The farm produce that goes to kindergartens, hospitals, schools, and partially remains in the oblast will be funded in order to prevent a price hike. However, we will not support production that is exported from our oblast. Thus far, we have supported all of the farm produce from the budget.

The third trend is new ownership relations. We will not transfer anything to anyone free of charge. [passage omitted]

The fourth trend is social security for specific individuals. We must support 27 percent of the people with low incomes by economizing on government spending and subsidies. The names of such individuals have already been established, and we must only develop a mechanism for rendering such assistance. [passage omitted]

However, I would like to add to the aforementioned issues that the oblast has defined its place among Russian investments. Bashkortostan will participate in the construction of a port in Svetliy. We are also considering the possibility of building a port in Baltiysk with capital from the Rosgazprom, the Kamaz, and other companies interested in its joint utilization.

[Borovskaya] **I have heard that some top officials have allegedly stated that there is no need to fuss over this port. The latter requires much money, while the future subordination of the oblast is unclear....**

[Matochkin] I think that the suggestions about the transfer of our oblast to someone else are simply improper today. It has been confirmed on all levels that the oblast belongs to Russia, and that is that. The fact that Vladimir Shumeyko has chosen to run for the Federation Soviet in our oblast proves that there are no secret projects. He would not like to repeat the fate of Khasbulatov who was the deputy of a nonexistent territory. The problem is not whose oblast this is, but how to utilize its exceptional position for Russia's benefit.

[Borovskaya] **Speaking about its unique possibilities, why was it necessary to transfer our oil to some "Lukoil" company?**

[Matochkin] To meet the demand of all consumers for oil products in the oblast, we need 1.2-1.6 million tonnes of oil annually. We extract 800,000 tonnes of crude oil a year. Thus, we meet our demand by nearly 40 percent. The remaining amount must be imported.

I think that we have found the best option—the "Lukoil." This is a stock company with state capital. It has an agreement with the Mazeikiai oil refinery for the processing of Siberian oil within the framework of the general state program. By connecting our oblast to the "Lukoil" we will avoid additional problems. This company has drafted all the necessary projects. It will refine our oil and partially supply us with Siberian oil. Moreover, the monopolistic "Kaliningradnefteprodukt" company will have a rival on the regional market. [passage omitted]

[Borovskaya] Does that mean that our oil will be refined in Lithuania? Contacts with this country are being established. You told about this at a press conference in detail. However, a certain package of documents remained unsigned at the meeting between Chernomyrdin and Slezevicius. What are these documents?

[Matochkin] These talks were really a big step forward in relations between our countries. A package of documents on the visa regime was not signed because the sides did not reach any mutual agreement. They were simply insufficiently prepared or coordinated in the working groups. Temporary rules for our inhabitants' travel to Lithuania are effective at present.

[Borovskaya] **Thus far, our enclave has often been a card in Lithuania's hands, and the latter has tried to influence the Russian Government with its aid. How was it this time?**

[Matochkin] Referring to the terminology of cards, everything depends on the players' skills. Kaliningrad Oblast is not a neutral card and it also participates in this game. Everything depends on the politicians' position and definite circumstances.

I believe that the position of Lithuania's current government is sound. Our side has demonstrated unequivocally—if Lithuania steps up pressure on Kaliningrad Oblast, we will apply similar measures.

[Borovskaya] **Measures of what sort?**

[Matochkin] For example, pawn duties or escorts for Lithuanian shipments throughout Russia's entire territory. Of course, I mean economic measures.

[Borovskaya] **What about building a "corridor" through Lithuania for our relations with the metropolis?**

[Matochkin] Lithuania is a sovereign state. Who else can be a master on its territory but itself? The elements of a "corridor" are already present in the coordinated itineraries for our transit through Lithuania. We should not oversimplify the concept of a "corridor" as something enclosed by a fence.

[Borovskaya] **We are pinning great hopes on the special status that may be granted to our oblast. However, is it not better to declare ourselves a republic?**

[Matochkin] We really put forward such a slogan previously, because there were great differences in rights between the center and the republics. The center did not respond to the regions' desire to acquire more sovereignty.

The situation has changed now. According to the new constitution, all subjects of the federation are equal. There is no sense in raising the issue of a separate republic today.

[Borovskaya] **Will our special status be sufficient to speak with Lithuania as peers?**

[Matochkin] We will not be equal to Lithuania, even if we declare ourselves a republic. Lithuania is a sovereign country, while a Russian republic is a state in a state.

Lithuania will understand our rights if the oblast receives the law on its status.

I would repeat myself saying that the idea of a republic was vital in a different political period.

[Borovskaya] **Does this mean that the "change of slogans" did not depend on the fact that you, as an executive, could not go against the president's will?**

[Matochkin] What if I had gone against his will? They would have removed me, but what would have the oblast gained? It is financed by the center, while we begin playing games with it. The center would have cut all subsidies and left us with our 800,000 tonnes of oil. Had the center not agreed to a compromise, the struggle on all levels of power would have continued. One way or another, our situation would have been bad. However, the center understood us and is issuing a special law. Why should we argue with such a center? Everything depends on a specific situation. [passage omitted]

## Yakut Leader Backs Provisions of New Constitution

*PM0612145593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Dec 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report under the "Politics" rubric: "It Does Not Become Russia To Be Without a Constitution—So Believes Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) President Mikhail Nikolayev"]

[Text] It is impossible for a great state such as Russia to fare without a constitution—it simply does not become us to be without it. By prolonging the adoption of the Fundamental Law, we risk losing what fragile political stability we have.

Time for finalizing the draft, for polishing up previous versions of the Russian Federation Constitution, was short (and I am thinking here of time subsequent to the infamous events of 3-4 October). But on the whole, I believe it is a quality document. While meeting with people, I have heard no fundamental objections to the draft. Somehow people seem to understand that the guarantee of our prosperity and confidence in the future is the strengthening of historic links between the peoples of the Russian Federation. We remain committed to the idea of a real federation, and we believe that the great Russian state will be strong and united by dint of political stability, interethnic accord, and civic peace in the republics and other regions. Therefore we support the efforts of Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin to deepen democratic transformations and economic reforms, and to strengthen Russian statehood. Inhabitants of Yakutia hold dear the basic provisions of the draft new Russian Federation Constitution which guarantee the tangible rights and freedoms of the person and support the aspiration of the individual for a dignified life. Other proposals in the draft could be enhanced, for instance, by guarantees of the sovereignty of Federation components and of the integrity of the Russian Federation. I am convinced that after the elections for the higher legislative organs of power, nothing will prevent us from strengthening the Fundamental Law. The main thing is not to tolerate infringements or the rights of republics and territories, as their autonomy will strengthen the freedom and dignity of Russia. The new Constitution, which was elaborated with due account of world standards, can and must be adopted 12 December.

## International Affairs

### Kravchuk Leaves on Official Visit to Tunisia

*LD0612143593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1426 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[By UKRINFORM-TASS special correspondent Viktor Demidenko]

[Text] Kiev December 6 TASS—President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk left on an official visit to the Republic of Tunisia today.

During his three-day visit Leonid Kravchuk will hold talks with the Tunisian president at which the two sides are expected to discuss a wide range of problems on the situation in the world, in the Middle East countries and African states. The talks will also focus on various aspects of the development of bilateral relations, first of all in the economic field.

The head of the Ukrainian state will also meet with prominent representatives of Tunisian business circles. The results of the visit are expected to include the signing of a package of documents, in particular an agreement on basic principles of mutual relations and cooperation between Ukraine and Tunisia which will create a legal basis for the further strengthening of bilateral ties.

It is envisaged that Leonid Kravchuk will meet with Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasir 'Arafat.

The Ukrainian president is accompanied by Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko and other officials.

### Embassy Opens in Beijing; Official Visits

*AU0612183793 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 2 Dec 93 p 1*

[Report by the Press Center of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and UKRINFORM: "Ukraine's Embassy Has Opened in the PRC"]

[Text] A ceremony to officially open Ukraine's Embassy in the PRC has been held in Beijing. Mykola Makarevych, Ukrainian first deputy foreign minister, presently on a visit in PRC, the PRC first deputy minister of foreign affairs, the Ukrainian ambassador to China, and representatives of the diplomatic corps and governmental circles took part in the ceremony.

The program for M. Makarevych's stay in Beijing also envisages a meeting with the leadership of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to discuss problems of strengthening bilateral cooperation and some aspects of international relations that reflect mutual interests.

## National Affairs

### Kravchuk Reshuffles National Security Council

*AU0612175993 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 4 Dec 93 p 2*

["Ukrainian Presidential Edict on Changes in the Composition of Ukraine's National Security Council" issued in Kiev on 22 November 1993]

[Text] Approved by Ukrainian Presidential Edict No. 546/93 of 22 November 1993

To alter Article 2 of Ukrainian Presidential Edict No. 357 of 1 July 1992 "On Ukraine's Security Council" and Ukrainian Presidential Edict No. 582 of 26 November 1992 "On Changes in the Composition of Ukraine's Security Council" and to adopt the composition of the National Security Council subordinated to the Ukrainian President.

[Signed] Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk
[Dated] Kiev, 22 November 1993
Composition of Ukraine's National Security Council

**Permanent Members of the Council**

Kravchuk, Leonid Makarovych—Ukrainian President (chairman of the council)
Zvyahilskyy, Yukhym Leonidovych—Ukraine's acting prime minister
Vasylyshyn, Andriy Volodymyrovych—Ukraine's minister of internal affairs
Zlenko, Anatoliy Maksymovych—Ukraine's minister of foreign affairs
Marchuk, Yevhen Kyrylovych—chairman of Ukraine's Security Service
Radetskyy, Vitaliy Hryhorovych—Ukraine's minister of defense
Shmarov, Valeriy Mykhaylovych—Ukraine's vice prime minister

**Members of the Council**

Hubenko, Valeriy Oleksandrovych—chairman of the State Committee for Questions of Defense of Ukraine's State Border
Kostenko, Yuriy Ivanovych—Ukraine's minister of environmental protection
Onopenko, Vasyl Vasylyovych—Ukraine's minister of justice
Paton, Borys Yevhenovych—president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences
Pyatachenko, Hryhoriy Oleksandrovych—Ukraine's minister of finance
Spizhenko, Yuriy Prokopovych—Ukraine's minister of health

### Kravchuk Names Secretary

*AU0612180093 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 4 Dec 93 p 2*

["Ukrainian Presidential Directive on the Secretary of the National Security Council Subordinated to the Ukrainian President" issued in Kiev on 1 December]

[Text] To appoint Kartavtsev, Valeriy Stepanovych, as secretary of the National Security Council subordinated to the Ukrainian president and head of the apparatus of the National Security Council subordinated to the Ukrainian president, and to relieve him of his duties as first deputy head of the apparatus of the National Security Council subordinated to the Ukrainian president.

[Signed] Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk
[Dated] Kiev, 1 December 1993

### UNIAN Reports on Kravchuk's 4 Dec Speech

*LD0612160793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1420 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Kiev—As UNIAN has already reported, Ukraine, at the CSCE conference in Rome, at the NATO session in Brussels, and at a parliamentary session of the Western European Union in Paris last week, was subject to criticism as a result of the reservations with which parliament ratified START-I. The West has threatened to remove Kiev from participation in the "Partnership for Peace" program, which is organized by NATO for countries of the former Warsaw Pact. This program envisages the provision of assistance in compiling military budgets, and providing civil control over the activities of the military, etc.

Ukraine's absence from the "partnership for peace" program means that it could encounter serious problems in its links with the North Atlantic bloc. A final decision on the Ukrainian issue is expected on 10-11 January at a summit meeting of NATO member countries, depending on the reaction of official Kiev.

On 4 December, Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk, in a speech on the second anniversary of the national armed forces at Ukraine's Ministry of Defence, replied to Western criticism. Leonid Kravchuk said that Ukraine's executive power is ready for the most resolute actions as he is not satisfied with such a ratification of the START I Treaty. "Ukraine is ready to reduce the combat status of all forms of nuclear weapons deployed on its territory, including SS-24 strategic missiles, the president emphasized. He also rejected attempts to isolate Ukraine politically, noting that it is doing everything possible to help achieve world nuclear disarmament. All tactical weapons have been withdrawn from Ukrainian territory and it does not possess chemical, bacteriological or biological weapons. In spite of this, Ukraine is considered to be a brake on the process of disarmament.

Leonid Kravchuk noted that "at the moment appropriate arguments and settlements are being prepared so that the Supreme Council may return to the issue of examining the START I Treaty."

The Ukrainian president said that he had proposed to Russian President Boris Yeltsin that the Black Sea Fleet should be finally regulated. In Leonid Kravchuk's view, If Ukraine does not receive its share of Black Sea ships required to defend itself in the Black Sea, then any decisions made could not be implemented. He also noted that Ukraine regards the fleet's entire infrastructure as its property, and is prepared to let Sevastopol on a long-term lease, thus enabling both the Russian and the Ukrainian fleets to be based there.

### Kravchuk Envoy To Run for Crimean Presidency

*LD0312211393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1751 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[By Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] The Ukrainian president's envoy in Sevastopol Ivan Yermakov in an interview with Interfax said he had decided to join the election fray for the Crimean presidency because of not wanting to stay aside in the face of Crimea's slippage into an abyss of economic crisis.

On the election campaign, Yermakov said it was full of populist and economically-unviable slogans. "But the electorate has become more intelligent. The people will vote for the candidate's deeds and his ability to deliver on his electoral pledges", he said.

Yermakov pointed to rising crime in the peninsula and Ukraine as a whole blaming it in part on misconceptions of what a democratic society should be. He says if elected, one of his main priorities will be to create a formidable police force vested with special powers. The question is one of forming strong police units, he said. Yermakov will seek local youths to serve in Crimea's army and security forces if he is elected as President. No one but Crimeans themselves will be able to provide better protection for the peninsula, he believes.

Yermakov declined to say whether or not a local referendum should be held on the territory's self-rule. But by way of example, he pointed to Northern Ireland where a similar referendum had caused a conflict on religious grounds.

Yermakov says it is premature to try to transfer Crimea's administrative center from Simferopol to Sevastopol.

### Other Candidates Named

*MK0312133093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 3*

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Crimea"]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission has denied registration to Viktor Mezhak, chairman of the People's Party of Crimea [PPC], to contest presidential elections. The problem is that the PPC, which nominated him on 25 November, was registered by the Crimean Justice Ministry only on 29 November. Hence, three party leaders have been currently nominated candidates to the post of president of the Crimean Republic—Sergey Shuvaynikov (Russian Party of Crimea), Leonid Grach (Communist Party of Crimea), and Yuriy Meshkov (Republican Party of Crimea-Party of the Crimean Republican Movement). All of them are deputies of the Crimean Supreme Soviet. At the same time, there is a total of nine contenders who have been given certificates of the receipt of forms for collecting signatures.

### Russian Parties in Crimea Split Over Elections

*WS0612133693 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] A split in pro-Russian patriotic forces occurred at the so-called popular rally staged in Sevastopol's Nakhimov Square. This occurred following a declaration by former National Salvation Front leader Aleksandr Kruglov that he was going to be nominated candidate for the presidential elections in the Crimea. As it is known, Kruglov's sister-in-arms, Popular Front Deputy Chairman Natalya Vaseyeva, has started to campaign for this post herself. Russian Party Chairman Sergey Shuvaynikov tried to appease the opponents but failed because both Kruglov and Vaseyeva accused him of lack of patriotism. Shuvaynikov, too, began an electoral campaign for president some time ago. Three candidates for the post of the head of one Crimean state, is definitely an overdose, the more so that all three represent one party . Thus, there was no concord and unity at the rally of which to speak.

The participants, however, demonstrated unity while adopting an address to President Yeltsin and to the peoples of Russia. Demonstrators voiced their indignation over the fact that Sevastopol residents were stripped of the right to participate in elections for the Russian Federal Assembly. The address denounced the new Russian draft constitution because the latter lacks an article on the Russian status of Sevastopol and the Crimean peninsula. The participants in the rally expressed their desire to see at the presidential post someone who would grant the return of Sevastopol, the Black Sea Fleet, and entire Crimea to the Great Russia.

### Elections Unlikely To Produce 'Stable Government'

*PM0312111593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 3*

[Vladimir Bogdanovskiy report: "Ukrainian Election Hodgepodge: Picture Is Not Emerging. Politicians' Ambitions Stand in the Way"]

[Text] Lvov—The decision by Ukrainian parliamentarians, who voted by a majority in favor of introducing the majority election system, caused if not shock then at any rate displeasure and confusion in certain political parties. And around 30 parties now represented in the Ukrainian political spectrum have begun to vigorously seek out partners. However, this process is by no means proceeding smoothly, but often with great difficulty.

The reason being, in the opinion of observers, the excessive ambitions harbored by the leaders of parties and movements. Whereas the Democratic Center works in a fairly coordinated way and its popularity at local level is rising accordingly, the same cannot be said about Vyacheslav Chernovil's bloc.

The results of polls conducted in Nikolayev and Kherson, where only a few voters want to vote for party programs, are indicative in this connection. People have simply lost interest in political battles.

What can we expect in that case? The Rukh bloc, the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine are doomed to failure because these parties are not united on many problems.

The national-conservative forces comprising the Ukrainian Democratic Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, Prosvit, and the Union of Ukrainian Students have somewhat better chances. According to the forecasts, they can count on 7-8 percent of seats in the new parliament.

The social democrats and the social-liberal alliance will hardly be able to count on success owing to internal clashes. Nor is there, moreover, any unity in the election struggle between the socialists and the Communists although the former, according to the forecasts, will be able to count on 10 percent of seats. It is likely that the extreme right—the Ukrainian National Assembly and the Social-National Party—will be able to take 8-10 seats.

In the opinion of many observers, the party in power will be nonuniform. Its vanguard is the kolkhoz-sovkhoz elite, controlling around 30 percent of the voters' votes. Another section of the party will be represented by the corps of directors, and a third section by representatives of regional structures of authority. In a word, the new Ukrainian parliament will be structured in such a way as to prevent a stable government being formed. That is why it is not destined to be long-lived.

### Poll Reveals Citizens' Concerns, Preferences

*AU0312144193 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 1 Dec 93 p 2*

[Article by Valeriy Pylypenko, candidate of philosophical sciences and section head at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Sociology Institute and correspondent Nadiya Kuznyetsova: "A Political Portrait Against the Backdrop of Independence"]

[Text] In October and November 1993, the independent center "Democratic Initiatives," jointly with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Sociology Institute, conducted a nationwide research "The Political Portrait of Ukraine," using the method of standardized interviews in 11 regions of the country. The adult (older than 18) population was polled.

The study has shown that our fellow countrymen are particularly annoyed by material problems. For example, 79 percent of respondents are convinced that the state must, first of all, ensure the material well-being of the people. Second among the priorities of the state's activity is occupied by the need to intensify economic reform (this is the opinion of 41 percent of respondents), and the third—the need to ensure peace and social order and also to combat crime (respectively, 36 and 33 percent of respondents). In the opinion of 11 percent of respondents, Ukraine's external political activity is extremely important. Eight percent of respondents give preference to the revival of the nation as the main task in the building of the state; 5 percent insist that the state must create conditions for the activity of the church, and the same percentage of respondents finds it necessary to strengthen the army.

Thus, at the end of the second year of Ukrainian independence, the problems of physical survival have practically overshadowed all other priorities in state activity. Material problems particularly bother residents of the southwestern region (84 percent of respondents) and somewhat less—of the western region (Ivano-Frankivsk, Lvov, and Ternopil Oblasts). Here, a rapid implementation of economic reform is insisted upon, whereas in the southern region (Nikolayev, Odessa, and Kherson Oblasts), the attitude toward this trend is less enthusiastic. Just 34 percent of respondents support the idea of reforming the economy.

At the beginning of building the state, the idea of Ukraine's federal structure was quite popular. The present study has revealed a considerable numerical superiority of the opponents of this idea over its supporters. This applies to all age, educational-level, national, and social-professional groups, with the exception of servicemen (among whom the percentages of opponents and supporters are approximately equal). The main reason for the rejection of the idea of federalism is the fear that it may lead to Ukraine's disintegration.

The idea of federalism is particularly popular in southern Ukraine and in Donetsk Oblast, where people believe that the federal structure will make it possible to resolve economic problems.

At present, the availability of nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine is a serious problem. Among respondents, 45.3 percent are in favor of nuclear status and 36 percent—against. The advocates of Ukraine's nuclear status prevail in its western region (70.9 percent). The lowest percentage of such supporters reside in Donetsk Oblast (30.2 percent).

It is noteworthy that 50 percent of Ukrainians and 32 percent of Russians support the nuclear status. Ukraine's neutral and nonaligned status is supported by 40.6 percent of respondents. The same percentage of people advocate the idea of Ukraine joining NATO. The alliance with CIS countries is the least popular one—just 12.8 percent.

Finally, on the eve of the elections, we cannot overlook the theme of politicians' popularity. At present, Leonid Kuchma has the highest rating (2.87). Then, there follow Leonid Kravchuk—2.59 (in November 1990, it was 2.2 and in May 1992—3.2); Vyacheslav Chornovil—2.34 (in June 1990—2.3, in November 1990—3.1, and in May 1992—3.0); Ivan Plyushch—2.24 (in November 1990—2.0 and in May 1992—2.7), and others.

Let us add that, despite everything, Leonid Kravchuk retains the rank of candidate No. 1 for the post of future president. Had the elections been held now, L. Kravchuk would have gained 8.7 percent of the votes, L. Kuchma—6.2 percent, V. Chornovil—4.6 percent, I. Yukhnovskyy—2.1 percent, and V, Hrynyov—1.9 percent.

As follows from the study, 50.3 percent of respondents, against 37.2 percent in May 1993, have already made their choice of a definite party or association. Those who have not made up their minds yet constitute 26.9 percent (against 34.1 in May). Those who do not intend to take part in the forthcoming elections amount to 22.8 percent (28.7 percent in May 1993). Therefore, despite the low level of confidence in parties as social institutions, they begin to play an increasingly noticeable role in Ukraine's political development. Had these elections been held according to party lists, Ukraine's Democratic Party would have had the greatest chance (14.3 percent of voters would have chosen it), Ukraine's People's Rukh [Movement for Perestroyka] (8.4 percent), Ukraine's Communist Party (4.1), the Green Party (4.0), and the Ukrainian Republican Party (3.2 percent).

## Former Defense Minister Views Military Issues

*WS0612123093 Kiev UKRAYINA MOLODA in Ukrainian 30 Nov 93 p 3*

[Interview with former Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov by Olena Lisnycha; place and date not given: "Generals Do Not Give Up Without a Fight"]

[Text] With his extraordinary personality, well-mannered demeanor, the image of a patriot, and a special charm and diplomacy not easy to come by among the military, it is impossible for General Kostyantyn Morozov to stay away from politics. At least two political parties, the Ukrainian Republican Party [URP] and the Ukrainian Democratic Party cast an eye on him, seeing the general as their presidential candidate. The general decided not to give up without a fight.

[Lisnycha] Finally, you broke your enigmatic silence and decided to make another step into politics. Will you run for a seat in the parliament?

[Morozov] Yes. This is what I decided. In early December, my vacation and at the same time my service in the Ukrainian Armed Forces will end. It so happens that there is no position for me there. I will apply to the president for a discharge and will run for our legislature—this time, the democratic one. It is still in question from what electoral district. I will continue to promote the same ideals—independence, security, defense.

[Lisnycha] Where was the Morozov-Kravchuk chain disrupted? In Masandra?

[Morozov] The two most strained years spent as defense minister gave me no opportunity to look back and take stock of the past. Events were developing so fast!

In the summer of 1992, the Fokin government resigned. I was the only one who stayed. Deputies has since begun to mount an opposition against me. Immodest as it might sound, I believe the reason was my firm and uncompromising position on priorities in building our state. Masandra was the stumbling block that exposed this very well. When I heard the speech by Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, I could not help making a relevant statement that did not concur with the official position at that time.

So I decided to resign—first of all, to quench controversy over my person in the Supreme Council and the government. I also wanted to eliminate uncertainty over problems in the Armed Forces connected with my candidacy.

[Lisnycha] A delicate position... Could you make any prognosis as to the further development of the situation around the Black Sea Fleet?

[Morozov] I think that the resolution of this question would be suspended for a while. I would like to emphasize that we have lost much time in search of solutions to this problem. We should have dealt with this when handling subordination of military districts...

My position remains unchanged—one can and should look for compromises and concessions. We cannot sell, hand over, or divide a non-Ukrainian part of the fleet without having removed it first from our territory, because this would involve us in a chain linking such issues as common protection of common interests, common Armed Forces—at least the strategic forces—the economic union, and creating conditions for the CIS as a subject of international law. Any increase in the status within the CIS means a reduced status for Ukraine.

[Lisnycha] As a minister, you emphasized your personal contacts, meetings with G-7 delegations, the Visegrad Group, and NATO. On the one hand, lack of military doctrine kept you from conducting reforms; on the other hand, this allowed you to approach NATO by way of small steps. Doesn't this mean that you could predict that the non-bloc status announced by Ukraine would be canceled?

[Morozov] Do you think that the current version of the military doctrine canceled the non-bloc status?

[Lisnycha] No, I do not. I believe that Ukraine is confronted with a problem of how to protect itself. And perhaps in the future, it might want to cancel this status.

[Morozov] I support this status because there is a threat that we could be dragged into the Allied CIS Armed Forces. If a state is denied the right to pursue independent military policies, its independence is in jeopardy. As soon as we resolve all the issues that ensure independence for our Army, the "non-bloc" principle will no longer be valid.

[Lisnycha] Do you think that Ukraine might become a member of NATO or some other military bloc?

[Morozov] I proceed from the fact that we have interministerial agreements on cooperation with four leading NATO members—the United States, Germany, Turkey, and Great Britain. The same agreement was in the works when I resigned. A visit by the newly appointed French defense minister was scheduled for mid-October. These countries are NATO's decisionmakers. They are interested in cooperation with Ukraine. I had relations conducted on a equal—let me stress that—basis. If we assume that NATO boundaries will move eastward, due to Ukraine's geographical position, not only Ukraine but also NATO countries might feel the need to deepen cooperation with us. Ukraine also has similar agreements with Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia. The necessary documents are being prepared with Romania.

[Lisnycha] Do you believe that Ukrainian security could be ensured through bilateral agreements?

[Morozov] Yes. Consolidating security by political means—this is what the current situation in Ukraine dictates. Specifically speaking, normal relations with West European countries will have a great bearing on our relations with the closest neighbors, including Russia.

[Lisnycha] I would very much like to hear your assessment of the ratification of the START I Treaty.

[Morozov] Did you hear the assessments at the news conference?

[Lisnycha] They were too optimistic.

[Morozov] I heard no explanation of this decision from the people who are supposed to do this. I think that in principle, this decision was correct. By ratifying the START Treaty, Ukraine fulfilled its obligations. Politically, Ukraine legally reaffirmed its succession rights to nuclear weapons; and economically, it consolidated its property rights for substances contained in those weapons. However, the question "what next?" remains open. No one said that Ukraine would reduce its liquid-fuel missiles. Yes, this is where Ukraine should have issued a declaration stating that it would continue to carry our disarmament outside the START framework,

and call upon other countries to do likewise. There is one more very important aspect. We have not joined the nonproliferation treaty, which expires in 1995. Ukraine could join it, because it has never intended to proliferate nuclear arms. This is why our country should make a statement about this, too. Unfortunately, no one has made one until now. One should come up with some declaration to reassure the world.

[Lisnycha] Speaking about the 130 liquid-fuel missiles, could you say specifically when their term of operation ends? I would also like to hear an educated judgment as to how safe they are?

[Morozov] Their expiration dates begin in 1992 and end in the beginning of the next century. All this is under control. As for technical maintenance, it has never gone out of the control of Ukrainian as well as Russian experts. The defense ministry allocated several hundreds of billion of Russian rubles and transferred the money to Russia for maintenance purposes. And this was not a political condition. The agreement is valid through the entire year.

[Lisnycha] Did the Moscow events somehow influence your resignation. As is known, the Russian military gave Yeltsin a half- hearted support.

[Morozov] I would link these two questions. I made my decision on 30 September and submitted it to the president on 1 October, while the Moscow events started on 3 October. Correct? The timing was pure coincidence. However, those events could have had an effect on the final showdown in the state. But they did not.

[Lisnycha] A little nostalgic question: Do you still have some of the minister's trappings, such as personal bodyguards?

[Morozov] I have to disappoint you—I did not have them even when I was the defense minister.

[Lisnycha] The defense minister does not have bodyguards?

[Morozov] Not in Ukraine. In Russia or any developed countries, defense ministers have bodyguards. As for other trappings, although I did not ask him, the new minister agreed that I could use ministry vehicles.

[Lisnycha] Do you have an armored vehicle? Or an ordinary Volga?

[Morozov] Besides ordinary Volgas, we have no other cars.

### Defense Ministry Discusses Army Training

*LD0412093893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0915 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balytkov for TASS]

[Text] Kiev December 4 TASS—The Ukrainian Army has an adequate combat capacity and is prepared to defend Ukraine's sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of its borders. This was declared at an extended session of the collegium of the Ukrainian Defence Ministry, held on Friday, which summed up the results of combat training of the Ukrainian Army in 1993.

Nevertheless, it was pointed out that the army faces a number of problems which have to be immediately resolved. These problems were discussed by the Ukraine Defence Minister General Vitaliy Radetskyy with top commanders of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. Radetskyy pointed out that the military leadership and every servicemen should carry out purpose-oriented work to create the Army which would meet the demands of the present-day.

Radetskyy informed about measures which were taken to improve the social welfare of servicemen. He said, in particular, that soldiers and sergeants undergoing compulsory military service would be monthly provided with tobacco, adding that since January, 1994 officers were expected to draw full rations.

### Currency Measures Said Leading to 'Collapse'

*LD0712054493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2027 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] "The recent government's measures in the sphere of currency regulation will lead to the collapse of the financial system," leader of the influential union "New Ukraine," the Supreme Soviet's Deputy, Vladimir Grinev said in an interview.

The Ukrainian president issued a number of decrees to reform the currency regulations in late November, 1993. In accordance with these decrees the trading at the Kiev Currency Exchange was suspended and a mechanism for establishing the karbovanets' official rate of exchange was worked out. A number of democratic politicians believe that these decrees could lead to restoration of the command system of economics.

Grinev also announced that he had united with former premier Leonid Kuchma to form a "shadow cabinet of ministers." This cabinet is to be based on the regions' potential.

### Conference Discusses Nuclear Engineering, Power

*WS0312142993 Kiev VECHIRNIY KYYIV in Ukrainian 30 Nov 93 p 2*

[Report by Hanna Tsvetkova: "Expensive and Dangerous"]

[Text] The First Ukrainian Congress of Power Engineers was held in Kiev on 19 November 1993, where specialists gathered to discuss problems of power supplies, and social and financial issues.

Two speeches were delivered at the congress, one by Power and Electrification Minister Semenyuk and one by Mr. Nigmatulin, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Nuclear Engineering.

Nuclear power engineering is facing hard times. Ukraine is totally dependent on Russian fuel supplies and some 70 to 80 percent of equipment is also provided by Russia. The complete financial chaos in Ukraine and its nuclear industries has led to skyrocketing debts to Russia, reaching 40 billion rubles [R] for fuel and R150 billion for equipment. The debt has been aggravated by the low price for Ukrainian power. According to the speakers, nuclear power engineering demands additional financial support from the state.

The personnel issue is another sensitive point of power engineering. Here are some very alarming figures: About 200 highly qualified specialists have abandoned the South Ukrainian Nuclear Power Plant [AES], 440—Zaporizka AES, 147—Chernobyl AES, 174—Rivne AES, and 140—Khmelnytskyy AES.

Mr. Nigmatulin sees a solution in obtaining self-sufficiency, that is, creating a closed nuclear cycle in Ukraine. Ukraine currently provides 50 percent of the raw material for producing nuclear fuel. Production of uranium should be increased twofold to satisfy the demand. According to State Committee calculations, this would cost R1 billion in 1984 prices. Power engineers are not discussing the issue of enriching uranium and producing nuclear fuel, because this would be inexpedient and expensive. Speaking of used nuclear fuel, Mr. Nigmatulin underlined that the problem remains very acute and is waiting for new technologies.

Nuclear power plants produce 90 percent of Ukraine's nuclear waste, not to mention the 6.8 million cubic meters of radioactive scrap concentrated around Chernobyl AES. According to Mr. Nigmatulin's assessment, nuclear power may represent 40 percent of the power produced in Ukraine. This will become possible following the launching of three new reactors that will cost $200 million ($500 to $700 million according to the World Bank).

Zaporizka AES Manager Bronnikov also spoke about personnel issues. Due to a lack of personnel, only four shifts of operators work at some technological processes instead of the necessary seven which undoubtedly influences the station's reliability. The wear of equipment results in large-scale repairs. The second block of Zaporizka AES is currently under repair.

A representative of the Eastern Mining and Enriching Combine supported the idea of producing 40 to 50 percent of power at nuclear power plants. In his opinion, Ukraine has only one option—either it develops its nuclear power engineering or its cities will be paralyzed. However, the government has to find money for purchasing materials—wood, industrial fuel, and others, and to resolve the problem of radioactive and chemical security.

Acting Prime Minister Zvyahilskyy also spoke at the congress. Adding to the discussion, he said that power engineering will be earmarked 400 to 500 billion karbovanetses in 1993 [as published].

Nuclear power engineering needs convertible currency for fuel and research. The government is trying to find these funds. According to unsubstantiated reports $1 billion was allocated for research and other problems of nuclear power engineering 10 days before the congress. Prime Minister Zvyahilskyy pointed out that while the congress was continuing, Mr. Landyk was trying to resolve the issue of significant investments in nuclear power engineering.

## Belarus

### Poll Says Communist Support 'Exceeds 70 Percent'

*WS0612144993 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 3*

[Report by Nkolay Trafimovich: "A Chance for Communist Renaissance"]

[Text] As of today, the Communist Party of Belarus has the best chance of winning the upcoming legislative elections, according to a public opinion poll conducted by the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociology.

This is the largest party; it has a very extensive structure and promotes very attractive ideas. Additionally, a considerable part of society wistfully longs for the relative prosperity and serene times of communist rule, and regrets the collapse of the powerful Soviet Union. This is why, in the opinion of those surveyed, the possibility of communists returning to power exceeds 70 percent.

Also holding a considerably strong position is the Belarusian Popular Front [BNF], which maintains a significant number of well-organized supporters, and the idea of national revival, consistently embraced by the BNF, remains one of the most popular in our society. Among the factors preventing the BNF from becoming a more influential political force is the experience of other countries, for example Azerbaijan, where similar popular fronts, having assumed power, completely discredited themselves. All in all, the BNF's victory in the elections is expected by 37 percent of those people surveyed.

The United Democratic Party holds third place—its chance to become a leading party has been estimated at slightly over 20 percent.

In conclusion, we would like to point out that such an arrangement of political forces could be possible only if the elections are conducted according to the party list system. However, this system is supported by an insignificant number of people.

### Soldiers Accuse Government of 'National Treachery'

*WS0612145293 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 4*

[Report by Igor Gukovskiy: "Belarusian Association of Servicemen Will Show Who Is Master of This Land"]

[Text] The second congress of the Belarusian Association of Servicemen [BZV] has been held at the Writers' House. The following statement made by one of the participants could become an epigram of the congress: "Thanks to the Belarusian intelligentsia, our people have been called tolerant. Tolerance and mentality are a bait cast to make us submissive. We should clearly state: all traces of the great-Russian [velikorusskiy] chauvinism should be repelled, and it must be shown who is master of this land."

The second issue recurring in all speeches was relations with the authorities. Their nature was figuratively described in a final statement: "We have always resorted only to legitimate measures, and the BZV warns all those who attempt to cross that boundary that they will be held personally responsible, and that the Cabinet of Ministers will not rescue them!" One of the speakers was even more laconic: "The government and the Supreme Soviet are structures of national treachery!"

Despite the apparent aggressiveness of slogans, the congress was conducted in a calm and productive atmosphere. Order was maintained by muscular boys from the BZV, uniformed, and armed with hand-held radios.

Participants analyzed the path they have taken since the first congress, and concluded that they have not committed any tactical or strategic blunders. They joyfully admitted the viability of the organization, its growing power, and expanding city and oblast branches.

Membership has really grown, which was affirmed by the overflowing auditorium. However, speaking about their influence, the servicemen somewhat exaggerated. For example, according to the final statement, "The desire by certain officials of the Cabinet of Ministers has not been fulfilled, thanks to the decisive measures recently applied by the BZV and other democratic forces, as well as the peacefulness of the Belarusian people." What kind of desire by the Cabinet of Ministers was not fulfilled? Apparently, according to participants in the congress: "Representatives of the authorities tried to generate a crisis to impose a state of emergency and ban the democratic opposition" (they meant the statement issued by the government on the eve of the Supreme Soviet session). Were they that scared? Not at all. Quite simply, the BZV knows the rules of the political game very well. Judging from speeches by Oleg Trusov, leader of the Belarusian Social Democratic Assembly, representatives of the Belarusian Popular Front, and the legislative opposition, as well as from participation of the leaders of the Belarusian Christian Democratic Union and the Belarusian nobility, the BZV has indeed many supporters. By the way, Oleg Trusov even donated some personal belongings to the BZV. Following deputies' initiative, a basket for donations was set up in the auditorium. The congress decided to seek help among entrepreneurial circles, admitting the serious financial situation of the organization (they have only 61,000 rubles in their account).

What else was discussed at the congress? They debated ecology, the devastation of natural resources committed, primarily, by communists, and recently, by Russian troops, whose units are deployed on the Republic's territory but are not controlled by republican authorities.

Also discussed was the promise by high-level officials to convert the Belarusian Army to the Belarusian language, which was later rescinded.

Also this time, the BZV confirmed its commitment to several well-known goals: "We will make all possible efforts to prevent the long historical path of the Belarusian people from being interrupted, and to preserve our nation, its statehood, and its language."

### United Democratic Party Urges Early Legislative Elections

*WS0612153993 Minsk RID in Russian 1100 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Report by Yuriy Leshkevich: "United Democratic Party Does Not Believe in Legislature"]

[Text] Before the current session of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet began its work, we had hopes that the deputies would adopt some measures to help us overcome the economic crisis in the Republic. Nevertheless, the discussion of this vital issue for all Belarusian citizens was conducted as a diversion. The resolution "On Ways Out of the Critical Socioeconomic Situation and the Acceleration of Market Reforms" is just a simple declaration of intentions full of the spirit of old party resolutions. RID has learned that the Belarusian United Democratic Party [BUDP] has drawn similar gloomy conclusions at their latest meeting, regarding the results of the Supreme Soviet's work. The current Supreme Soviet session proves that its deputies are unable to adopt any sensible decisions. Hence, the BUDP favors early Supreme Soviet elections and the creation of an interim government—the only option that could relieve the economic ailments of Belarus.

### Ukraine, Russia, Canada To Build Nuclear Power Plant

*LD0712024393 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2146 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Kiev, 6 December—Representatives of Ukrainian, Russian, and Canadian state and private enterprises have reached an accord on setting up a transnational joint-stock company. The company will build a nuclear power plant on the territory of Belarus that will use reliable Canadian reactors. It is envisaged that orders for the manufacture of equipment will be placed with the four states' enterprises, including those in Ukraine.

### Cooperation, Arms Destruction Discussed With U.S. Team

*WS0712085493 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian 1 Dec 93 p 1*

[Report attributed to the Belarusian Defense Ministry press center: "Staffs Reach Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] During its visit to Belarus, a U.S. delegation headed by Major General D. Ellerson, chief of the Strategic, Planning, and Political Administration of the U.S. Land Forces Staff [name and title as published], was received by General-Lieutenant N. Churkin, chief of staff of the Belarusian Armed Forces. In an open conversation, the officials discussed the strict implementation of agreements on conventional and nuclear arms conducted by Belarus, the financial and material outlays for U.S. aid and the destruction of conventional arms, the reduction of the Belarusian Armed Forces, and problems associated with retraining, employing, and accommodating dismissed servicemen.

The U.S. delegation held a briefing on recruiting U.S. land troops, training officers, and operating reserve units. The guests visited the Minsk Higher Military Engineering School and one of the regiments of the Rogachev Motorized Infantry Guards Division. Major General D. Ellerson expressed his satisfaction with the results of the meeting and the discussion, and proposed to expand contacts on the level of the staff of U.S. land forces and that of the Belarusian Armed Forces.

## Moldova

### Snegur: Republic To Retain Special Forces

*LD0612154993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Moldovan President Mircea Snegur stated that Moldova would keep its special forces as long as it was under pressure from its internal and external enemies.

He said during the anniversary celebrations of the special police units, established two years ago during armed conflicts in Transdniestria, that "this war was imposed on Moldova by its enemies, who could not tolerate Moldova's advancement towards independence and sovereignty."

### Lucinschi-Led Delegation Returns From Kiev Meeting

*AU0212154893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Today, the official delegation of the Republic of Moldova led by Petru Lucinschi, parliament president, returned to Chisinau from Kiev, where it had attended the second session of the Parliamentary Assembly for Cooperation in the Black Sea Basin. Petru Lucinschi's presence in Kiev was an opportunity for him to meet with his Ukrainian counterpart Ivan Plyushch and with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

On this occasion, the two sides discussed questions of bilateral interest, as well as the conflict that exists in the eastern rayons of the Republic of Moldova. They also agreed to take a number of measures to remove the barriers, especially legal and customs barriers, that emerged of late in relations between the two states.

As our correspondent in Chisinau, Mircea Dascaliuc, informed us, the two sides also examined certain questions connected with the status of assets in the Ukraine that belong to the Republic of Moldova.

## Kazakhstan

### Yeltsin-Nazarbayev Talks on Baykonur Postponed

*LD0612215193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1745 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Talks between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his Kazakh counterpart Nursultan Nazarbayev on the future of the space center Baykonur have been indefinitely postponed. The meeting between a delegation of the Russian Space Agency and the Kazakh leaders and representatives of Kazakhstan's National Space Agency did not bring about any results, a high-ranking representative of the Russian Space Agency told Interfax.

During the talks Russia suggested that it lease the Baykonur complex for a long term and finance and supply the city of Leninsk which is adjacent to the complex and is populated by the space center personnel and their families.

The world's biggest launching site Baykonur became Kazakhstan's property after the Soviet Union's break-up. It handles Russia's civil and military space programs. Only from Baykonur can heavy-duty rocket-carriers Proton take satellites to a geo-stationary orbit. In experts' estimate during the next 15 years Russia will not be able to give up Baykonur and switch over entirely to the northern space center Plesetsk (Arkhangelsk Region), or build a new launching complex in its territory.

"We can and must come to terms on mutually advantageous utilization of Baykonur," said this representative of the Russian Space Agency.

### Parliamentary Delegation Ends Visit to India

*LD0612171193 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Excerpt] An official Kazakhstan parliamentary delegation led by Supreme Kenges Chairman Serikbolsyn Abdildin has concluded its visit to India. The delegation held meetings with President Sharma, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, the speaker of the People's Chamber of the Parliament, and deputies of the supreme legislative body of India. The meetings discussed prospects for bilateral cooperation, which is of great importance to both states. The Kazakh parliamentarians displayed special interest in the expertise of professional Indian legislators and the principles of elaboration and discussion of enforceable enactments. They also met the minister for interparliamentary relations and representatives of the ruling party and opposition. [passage omitted]

### Supreme Council Speaker: Elections Possible in May

*LD0712051993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2027 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Speaker of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet, Serikbolsyn Abdildin believes that the parliamentary and local elections in Kazakhstan could be held on the last Sunday in May, 1994.

Speaking at a press conference in Almaty on Monday he emphasized that the process of transformation of the legislative and local representative powers must be based on a firm constitutional ground.

He refuted the allegations that more than 100 deputies of the Supreme Soviet had dismissed themselves and announced that the deputies' joint statements published in the newspapers had no juridical base. For the present moment there is only one request for an early dismissal, presented by Saginbek Tursunov appointed the Kazakh Ambassador to Germany.

According to the speaker, the deputies who had signed the joint demand at the Supreme Soviet's presidium announced that they would dismiss themselves only after a law on reforming the power structure was adopted. He also pointed out that there was no confrontation between the parliament and the government—only a normal discussion.

## Tajikistan

### Rakhmanov Speaks on Bread, Transport Problems

*LD0612164793 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] An enlarged meeting of the Republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers took place today under the chairmanship of Imamali Rakhmanov, head of state and chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet. The meeting discussed the provision of bread and public transport to the Republic's towns and regions. The meeting was attended by heads of a number of the Republic's ministries and departments. Our correspondent Buri Ikromov reports.

[Ikromov] The inhabitants of the city of Dushanbe are worried about the bread supply and the work of public transport. They have been complaining to all responsible organizations, including the Supreme Soviet, about the bread shortage and erratic functioning of public transport. The present situation is such that Imamali Rakhmanov, head of state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, spent the last three days studying the situation. During his meetings with citizens and shop managers, he became convinced that those in charge of bakeries and transport are deceiving people. During talks with seven bakery assistants he became convinced that they never receive the exact allocation. Some said that for months they did not receive any flour and therefore could not sell any.

A meeting was held in the Supreme Soviet today to discuss this issue. It was chaired by Imamali Rakhmanov, head of state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The meeting was attended by the chairmen of rayon and city executive committees, rayon and city procurators, internal affairs officials, members of the city's National Security Committee, leaders of the Ministries of Transportation and Grain, the Fuel Committee, and other officials.

Addressing the meeting about this situation, Imamali Rakhmanov, head of state and chairman of the Republic's Supreme Soviet said:

[Begin Rakhmanov recording] We have organized this open discussion today to examine the bread supply to the capital and public transport services. We will take specific measures against those persons and leaders who have reduced the capital and the people's living standard to the present level. I have spent three days in the streets and shops of Dushanbe studying the people's living conditions. Nobody is satisfied with the work of the city Executive Committee and the Republic's government. I was asked only one thing—that when the head of state, the head of government, government members, the city's mayor, and its Executive Committee speak on radio and television, they should keep their word. Do not make promises if you realize you cannot keep them. We want you to tell the truth,and the people will understand it.

When our Republic's radio and television reported every day that 130 or 170 tonnes of flour were being sold to the population, I wondered why citizens' complaints were increasing and where all the flour and bread was going. During the most difficult days in the Republic's capital 140 tonnes of bread was enough for the city's population, so I wondered what had happened today to cause the failure to provide people with bread and to make them so fearful and anxious.

I concluded that the city's bakeries were not baking that amount of bread, and, second, that the 130 tonnes of flour a day that people are promised were not being distributed. [passage indistinct]. If the 130 shops each receive one ton of flour every day, it should be possible for everyone to buy one or two kilograms of flour.

On the transport situation in the city, I had a meeting with the leadership of the city's Executive Committee and other officials responsible for public transport. First, we have to provide the city with fuel, despite the (?shortage for) agriculture.

Today we will have an open conversation. The administrative bodies will be instructed to carry out their lawful tasks properly, and to root out those who are to blame for this situation and to submit it to the presidium of the Republic's Supreme Soviet. [end recording]

## Armenia

### Tension Reported Along Nagorno-Karabakh Front Lines

*NC0612181793 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The situation on the NKR's front lines continues to be unstable. By rejecting the new variant of the CSCE Minsk Group's calendar on the urgent measures, Azerbaijan's leaders have once again indicated that their consent to the mediation effort of international organizations and several foreign countries was aimed at camouflaging their main objectives. The neighboring republic's leaders have not abandoned their wish to resolve the Karabakh problem through fighting a war. By rejecting the new calendar, they have revealed that they do not see eye to eye with the international community.

That state of affairs has been noted in the statement Robert Kocharyan, head of the NKR Defense Committee, has made on the situation. He said that NKR leaders will use every opportunity to maintain the NKR people's security. Kocharyan's statement is a serious warning.

Meanwhile, the situation on the battlefronts is gradually worsening as a result of Azerbaijan's behavior. The NKR Defense Headquarters has disclosed that NKR military forces not only obstructed the enemy's wide-scale attacks but also launched counterattacks to force them to retreat to their positions on 2 December. Furthermore, the Armenian units silenced two of Azerbaijan's fire emplacements in Beynaganskiy Rayon. There were dead and wounded on both sides.

Azerbaijan's military units in Beynaganskiy Rayon fired on the Armenian defense positions in Fizulinskiy Rayon with various types of arms on 3 December. No one was wounded or killed in the firing. Meanwhile, the confrontation was in the form of positional fighting in the other parts of the NKR front line. Azerbaijan's military forces in the occupied areas in Mardakertskiy Rayon fired on the Armenian positions in that rayon on the same day. The Armenian units refrained from launching retaliatory operations. Meanwhile, Azerbaijan has been observed to mass reinforcements and armored vehicles in that part of the battlefront.

All this indicates that Azerbaijan is doing everything it can to worsen the dispute.

The situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan is tense. However, a serious incident has not occurred in that region.

## Azerbaijan

### Foreign Minister Links Pipeline to Military Aid

*NC0712085393 Ankara TURKISH DAILY NEWS in English 2 Dec 93 pp 1, 8*

[Excerpt] Ankara—The Azerbaijani foreign minister linked on Wednesday [1 December] its lucrative oil deal to a solution of the armed dispute with Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh that would be favorable to Baku. Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov, who is in Rome for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) meetings, said that the pipeline, which is planned to carry Azerbaijani crude oil to international markets, will be constructed through whichever country that provides the most support for Azerbaijan on the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute. Quoted by ANATOLIA NEWS AGENCY, Gasanov said that his country may not obey the existing protocol with Turkey, which calls for the pipeline to be constructed from Baku to Turkey's Ceyhan terminal on the Mediterranean coast.

"It is not necessary for us to pass the pipeline through Turkey," Gasanov said. "It is not possible for our Parliament to reach a decision on the pipeline project and implement it before a solution is achieved on the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. "We need soldiers for that (a solution)," he continued. "Every country who can, should send soldiers to us." [passage omitted]

### Ex-U.S. Veterans Allegedly Train Presidential Guard

*PM0712094793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 93 First Edition p 3*

[Aleksandr Krivopalov report: "U.S. Instructors Train Azeris in Military Craft"]

[Text] London—For more than a year now U.S. Army veterans have been helping to train Azeri soldiers, THE OBSERVER claims. This military assistance is apparently being given through the Megaoil [IZVESTIYA reads Megasil] Company, which first turned up in Baku back in 1991, when President A. Mutalibov was in power. It was to engage in opening up old oil wells in order to increase their productivity. It was at that time that rumors went about that the Americans were also engaged in creating a personal guard for the then president of Azerbaijan.

The London newspaper writes that Megaoil uses the services of General Richard Secord, retired. He is known for carrying out secret operations back in the eighties to deliver arms to Iran—which resulted in a sensational scandal which badly damaged the Reagan administration.

The general first visited Azerbaijan shortly before Mutalibov's fall, but according to THE OBSERVER's data Megaoil also continued doing the same thing under President Elchibey. Isa Gambarov, chairman of parliament at that time, who is now in opposition to the new

regime, testified: "I met with the president of Megaoil, and he hinted that he could help Azerbaijan and not only in the oil business."

According to confidential information in the possession of the London Sunday newspaper, the U.S. company was already involved in organizing special military courses somewhere not far from Baku.

The U.S. Administration then demanded that the U.S. mercenaries leave Azerbaijan. U.S. law prohibits even its own former servicemen from serving foreign governments.

Megaoil resurfaced in Baku this fall—this time under Geydar Aliyev. The Americans engaged in military training of Azeris at two bases. THE OBSERVER's correspondent obtained this information from Western diplomats and a high-ranking representative of a U.S. oil company operating in the Transcaucasus. But Baku's official reaction is categorical—there are no foreign servicemen in the country.

THE OBSERVER claims that not only U.S. but also Iranian instructors are in Azerbaijan. Moreover, approximately 1,000 Afghan mojahedin allegedly arrived there last August. Some of them apparently participated in combat operations at the time of the Armenians' October offensive.

### Aliyev Receives Israeli Parliamentarian

*LD0612172093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1607 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[by ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku December 6 TASS—Strong and independent Azerbaijan may become a guarantor of stability in the Transcaucasian region, Efraim Sneh, member of the Israeli Knesset who came on a three-day visit to Baku, said at a meeting with President Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan here today.

According to the Israeli parliamentarian, the process of forming statehood in Israel and Azerbaijan are very much alike. On the way to the present state—progressive reforms, he stressed, Israel "has passed through a long aggression." The Israeli politician expressed hope that the armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan will soon be settled just as the Middle East problem which, he believes "is coming to the end."

President Geydar Aliyev informed the Israeli parliamentarian of measures taken by the country's leadership on the settlement of the Armenian-Azeri conflict. At the same time the president noted that despite the U.N. Security Council resolutions, efforts by the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and various peace initiatives, the Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan is going on. According to Geydar Aliyev, this has aggravated the social and economic crisis in the republic and lowered the living standard of citizens of the republic, including people of the Jewish nationality.

The Azeri president is convinced that Azerbaijan needs not only support but also joint efforts by influential states in the world to help Azerbaijan "come out from the state of war and ensure its territorial integrity."

### National Assembly Adopts Bill on Martial Law

*LD0612185193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] A law on martial law was adopted on a first reading by the Azerbaijani National Assembly. The document was adopted as a whole by a majority of votes despite resistance from opposition deputies. At the National Assembly session it was stressed that a law on martial law was extremely vital to the republic which is currently virtually in a war situation.

## Georgia

### Shevardnadze Interview on Peace Talks, Joining CIS

*LD0612151793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze stated that if a social explosion occurred as a result of the current shortages of bread, electricity and gas, "we'll lose everything we have."

During his usual Monday radio interview he expressed confidence that the population would not support the forces which are trying to manipulate the current socio-economic problems.

He also announced that the Georgian authorities had started irreconcilable struggle against mafia.

Commenting on the results of the Georgian-Abkhazian talks in Geneva, Shevardnadze said that their main goal was to ensure the return of the refugees and their security. The memorandum signed in Geneva reflects this goal, he said.

Speaking about Georgia's admission to the CIS, Shevardnadze stated that "it is a natural thing, not a caprice" and added that "if we do not use the opportunities provided by the CIS, we shall not overcome the grave economic crisis."

He emphasized that the opponents' discontent with Georgia's admission to the CIS was unfounded. "Practically all European leaders welcomed this decision," he said, "because Europe is interested in a stable Georgia."

### Further on Interview

*LD0612193093 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1545 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Today, during his traditional radio interview, Eduard Shevardnadze again spoke about the issue of Georgia's joining the Commonwealth of Independent States, and said that Belarus' stand had not been based on a negative attitude toward this step by the Georgian leadership, and any accusations directed at the Georgian leadership are absolutely groundless. Joining the CIS is a normal action and not a whim; it is a road to integration and the restoration of broken links, Eduard Shevardnadze said. In the Georgian leader's view, provided all opportunities offered by this union were used, Georgia will be able to overcome the severe economic crisis. Eduard Shevardnadze also emphasized that Europe regarded this step with understanding because the western countries were interested in the establishment of political stability in Georgia and the overcoming of the economic crisis by the republic.

Assessing the results of the first round of Abkhaz-Georgian talks that took place in Geneva last week, Eduard Shevardnadze refrained from a comprehensive comment until the Georgian delegation was back. However, he said that a memorandum adopted at the talks included a paragraph that met the major goal—the return of refugees.

During the interview, the head of state did not evade the most acute social issues causing the population's grave concern. The provision of the population with bread is one of the issues of this sort. Eduard Shevardnadze expressed hope that the grave situation in this sphere would be improved soon. The allotment of credits for fuel by a number of European countries, as well as a number of the CIS countries and definite positive changes in the crime situation could become a basis for the improvement. However, according to Eduard Shevardnadze, the economic crisis could be overcome only in case of complete political stability. That is why, an abuse of the population's social discontent by some political figures in their political interests do not serve the interest of the people.

Eduard Shevardnadze regarded the withdrawal of Russian Black Sea Fleet marines from Poti as normal since they had accomplished the tasks given them.

In conclusion, Eduard Shevardnadze touched upon the issue of fighting crime. He expressed hopes that a recent detention of one of the biggest Mafioso groups by the law-enforcement bodies was the beginning of a large-scale fight against the Mafia and bandit syndicates in Georgia. However, this fight must by all means be carried out within the frames of the law, Shevardnadze emphasized.

## Reaction to Tbilisi-Abkhazia Agreeements

### Official Welcomes Accords

*LD0612155393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Chairman of the Committee for Ethnic Relations and Human Rights Aleksandr Kavsadze welcomes the Georgian-Abkhazian agreements reached in Geneva, above all the agreement on the return of the Georgian refugees to Abkhazia.

Kavsadze, who took part in the Geneva talks, said that "the negotiating parties agreed that the Georgian refugees must return to their homes."

He noted that the latest round of talks, which lasted from November 30 to December 1, differed from the previous ones in that the UN and the CSCE were actively involved and that representatives of these organizations recognized Georgia's territorial integrity.

Speaking about Abkhazia's future status, Kavsadze announced that international experts would arrive in Georgia soon to work out recommendations. Abkhazia's status can be finally defined by the constitutional commission or during a referendum.

The Georgian-Abkhazian talks in Geneva produced a memorandum committing the two parties not to use force or threat of force for the time of the talks, exchange all POW's by December 20 and ensure a quick return of the refugees.

The memorandum also says that by January 11 experts are to draft a report on Abkhazia's political status and on the possibility of using international peacekeeping forces to ensure the observance of cease-fire.

### Tbilisi Delegation Head Comments

*LD0612190993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1818 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The first round of talks on Georgian-Abkhazian settlement in Geneva has revealed both sides' genuine desire to solve the problem by peaceful means, Dzhaba Ioseliani, head of the Georgian delegation to the talks, told a news briefing in Moscow on Monday.

"For centuries Georgians and Abkhazians had lived peacefully on one land and we have been bequeathed by God himself to continue to live in friendship and accord," Ioseliani said.

He said an agreement has been reached in Geneva to exchange prisoners of war in accordance with the principle "all for all," take urgent measures to launch a search for those missing, and solve the problem of refugees to return them to the places of their residence.

Ioseliani recalled that about 240,000 Abkhazian refugees are staying in Georgia alone. "If the refugees are not returned to their homes in the near future, the situation along the Inguri River may become unpredictable," he warned.

### Ioseliani Backs Accords

*LD0712034593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2027 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Head of the Georgian delegation at the Georgian-Abkhazian negotiations in Geneva, Jaba Ioseliani believes that the recently signed memorandum opens the way to further dialog with the Abkhazian leadership. Speaking at a press conference in Moscow on Monday he said that the situation in the region could be stabilized only through peace negotiations.

Ioseliani emphasized that neither Georgia nor Abkhazia could overcome on their own the economic damage caused by the war. In this connection he welcomed the economic aid proposals, designed to rehabilitate the war-torn region, coming from different international organizations.

The Georgian representative refuted the statement of the Abkhazian leadership on the possibility of a repeated attack against Abkhazia coming from Georgian military formations.

Ioseliani strongly believes that most of the memorandum's provisions will be carried out since its implementation is to be controlled by Russia and other foreign states. However, he is not sure that the Gudauta leaders will strictly observe all the document's provisions as, in his words, they "have repeatedly violated the previous agreements."

The Georgian representative pointed out that the main threat to the settlement of the situation stemmed from possible efforts to obstruct the process of returning Georgian refugees to Abkhazia. "There are approximately 250,000 refugees currently stationed in Georgia and if they move to Abkhazia this will be a catastrophe," he emphasized.

### Abkhaz Official Welcomes Results

*LD0712040093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2027 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Deputy of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet's Chairman, Sokrat Jinjoliya considers the results of the Georgian-Abkhazian negotiations in Geneva on November 30-December 1 to be "the first real move toward a comprehensive political settlement of the Abkhazian conflict."

He pointed out in an interview on Monday that the negotiations had reached their goal.

In his words, the most important point is that the parties agreed to resist from the use of force while resolving the problems between Abkhazia and Georgia.

Jinjoliya stated that Abkhazia guaranteed to return Georgian military prisoners before December 20, as provided forseen [as received] in the memorandum adopted at the negotiations. In his words, there are approximately 15 Georgian POW's currently remaining in Abkhazia.

On the possible return of refugees to Abkhazia, he emphasized that the issue was "very complicated" and that "everybody understood this." It is necessary to ensure security for returning refugees and to prevent possible revenge, he says. "All this demands special preparations."

Jinjoliya confirmed the position of the Abkhazian leadership, affirming that the status of Abkhazia should be determined at a referendum when all the necessary conditions for are ensured, primarily among them being the return of refugees.

He voiced hope that Russia's economic sanctions against Abkhazia would soon be cancelled in as they contradict the Geneva memorandum also signed by a Russian representative. The memorandum provides for aiding the suffering population. "This will be in conformity with the letter of this document," he emphasized.

### Ardzinba To Ask Butrus-Ghali for Russian Peacekeepers

*LD0612215593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1745 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Abkhazian Parliamentary Speaker Vladislav Ardzinba will ask UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali to consider sending Russian peacekeeping forces to the area of confrontation between Georgian and Abkhazian formations along the Inguri river. This statement was made to Interfax by Abkhazian Deputy Speaker, head of the republican delegation to the Georgian-Abkhazian talks in Geneva, Sokrat Dzhindzholiya, in an interview with Interfax today.

He said Abkhazia proposed the status of peacekeeping troops be given to the Russian armed forces.

Dzhindzholiya believes that the peacekeepers should be sent to the conflict area as soon as possible.

### Detachment of Gamsakhurdia Supporters Surrenders

*LD0612133293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1248 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—A big armed detachment headed by resident of Zugdidi (western Georgia), Arkadiy Elyava, has surrendered to the government forces of Georgia. "I see no sense in the further resistance, and my brothers-in-arms have no wish to participate in the fratricidal war," the commander of the detachment said when giving up. Thus, tangible losses

have been inflicted on the armed troops of the ex-president's supporters headed by Vakhtang Kobaliya.

A positive role in this surrender was played by activists of the regional organization of the new political party "the Union of Citizens of Georgia" headed by Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze, which was set up in Zugdidi, a spokesman for the Provisional Committee for Extraordinary Situations in Western Georgia told ITAR-TASS by telephone.

## Estonia

### List of Remaining Russian Military Units

*WS0612144593 Tallinn BNS in English 1638 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] TALLINN, Dec 03, BNS—Russia claims the number of troops stationed in Estonia has dropped a little to 2,600 men as of Dec. 1.

In a meeting with Estonian Defense Minister Juri Luik, Vasiliy Svirin, Russia's top negotiator with Estonia, said some 77 Russian military units were still stationed in Estonia.

The 2nd department of the Defense Forces' general staff has information that Russia has about 1,100-1,200 men in the naval forces and 300-400 men in various maintenance and support units, and military depots in Estonia. Different sources estimate the number of officers whose units have left Estonia at about 500.

Most Russian military facilities are located in Tallinn and the Harju county. One facility is situated in both the Laanemaa and the Laane-Virumaa counties, while no Russian units are stationed in 12 Estonian counties.

The following is an up-to-date list of Russian military units stationed in Estonia:

- the 144th motorized rifle division in Tallinn, Keila and Klooga with about 1,000 men. There were no major withdrawals of men and arms in November;

- the 228th tank regiment in Keila, which continues using the Manniku artillery range for practice. The out-of-date Russian armored equipment is deposited in its territory;

- the 144th division's depots at Klooga and Manniku with about 3,500 tons of ammunition;

- the 14th air defense division's housing maintenance office in Rakvere and five houses where officers and their families live. The bulk of the division has left Estonia;

- the general staff of the Tallinn naval base with about 300 military, the majority of whom are officers;

- the 55th mine sweeper division in Tallinn with two vessels: the Semyon Rozal and the Svyazist. About 80 men serve in the division, apart from the crews of vessels to be scrapped. Other major naval units besides Tallinn are stationed at the Pakri Peninsula, the Viimsi Peninsula, on the Naissaar Island and in Loksa;

- the naval depots in the Naissaar Island that contain about 1,280 sea mines: 1,200 old models and 80 modern ones. The Russian navy is taking the modern mines out by special vessels, while the old mines are destroyed locally;

- the naval equipment stores at Arukula;

- the naval fuel storage facilities on the outskirts of Tallinn;

- the 93rd naval training base in Paldiski with two inactive nuclear reactors. About 530 men serve there. Also, a munitions unit and naval depots are located in Paldiski;

- some units and the staff of the former naval air force regiment totaling about 100-150 men remain at Amari. The airfield is used mostly by Russian transport planes to take out military equipment. In November, 11 planes came in and 10 left from Amari. The bombs are being removed to Paldiski;

- the disbanding the research center located at Suurpea, on the shore of the Hara Bay, has been almost completed;

- a former KGB radio intelligence unit now under Russian naval command is located at Vana-Aaviku in the Harju country;

- the employees of the Russian Embassy now live in the former border guard station at Pirita. The Estonian border guards keep their eye on the station.

## Lithuania

### Brazauskas on Currency, Finnish Relations

*LD0612184093 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Lithuanian-Finnish relations are good, there are no political disagreements between the two states, and the attitude toward the regions problems and relations with neighbors is very similar.

This view was expressed by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas on Lithuanian Radio today. The president said that he spoke on the telephone with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto today, congratulating the Finnish president and the whole Finnish population on the occasion of the national holiday—the day of independence.

Views were exchanged on the development of cooperation between the two countries, security and stability in the Baltic region, [indistinct word], and other issues.

Algirdas Brazauskas expressed his satisfaction that Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho will pay a visit to Lithuania on Tuesday [7 December]. He will take part in Finnish independence day celebrations in Lithuania. It is a reply visit, because Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius paid a working visit to Finland last summer.

President Algirdas Brazauskas claims that Lithuania and Finland should cooperate closer in the immediate future in creating a joint security and confidence system in the Baltic Sea region.

Lithuania regards very favorably the invitations by the Nordic Council to regularly attend meetings at various levels of the Nordic countries, and believes that this would help in the future [indistinct words] the cooperation of the Nordic countries.

A meeting of the Litas Committee took place in the president's office this morning. Journalists asked whether a decision was adopted to link the litas with a foreign currency. The president explained that such decision can be taken only by the Seimas [passage indistinct] So far, a final and concrete decision has not been taken and, most probably, some time will pass until such a decision is formed. The linking of the litas with a hard convertible currency is a rather complicated issue, as then the possibilities and functions of the Central Bank would change. Some functions would decline, and effectiveness in monetary activity would decline, too. Our aim is to maintain a stable exchange rate of the litas, and the linking of the litas with a hard convertible currency serves the same aim, too. The new Bank of Lithuania Board chairman believes that the Central Bank is able to maintain this exchange rate, but it is essential that Lithuania's economy and all economic organizations are confident that the litas has a permanently stable exchange rate. The results of the past two-three months show that such rate can be maintained only by making use of reserves of hard currency at the Central Bank.

By the way, Bank of Lithuania Chairman Kazys Ratkevicius, has said about a new additional emission of money into circulation. We wish to speed up this process so that there are bank notes of one, two, and five litas denominations in circulation as soon as possible to replace coins. The five litas bank notes will be in circulation next week, and somewhat later new 50 litas notes, which will be more difficult to forge.

Thus we are going to improve our currency, so that it is more difficult to forge and [passage indistinct], stressed Algirdas Brazauskas.

[Passage indistinct] The president also described a consultative group, formed on his initiative, consisting of prominent representatives of science, art, [words indistinct]. It is sad that the state pays insufficient attention to culture affairs, said Brazauskas. [passage indistinct] Now, when the budget for next year is being prepared, it is essential to substantially increase the financing of this and other spheres, said Algirdas Brazauskas [passage indistinct]